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From being to doing : the impact of modernization on cultural values, cultural conceptions of time, and effective leadership

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From Being to Doing: The Impact of Modernization on Cultural Values, Cultural Conceptions of Time, and Effective Leadership

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From Being to Doing:
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Introduction

According to the Greek philosopher Heraclitus, “the only thing that is constant is change.” Change and advancement have been integral to human life since time immemorial and the process of modernization has continually altered lifestyles and redefined peoples. Perhaps like no other point in history, the pervasive societal changes that now accompany development are global, with the entire world becoming involved in the increasingly interrelated and interdependent process of modernization. The various impacts of this process, which can be detected at the continental, regional, national, and even local levels, are frequently investigated by scholars and practitioners alike.

New theories and inquiries that seek to explain both the causes and the trajectory of these diverse transformations offer a captivating collection of varied, intriguing, and sometimes contradictory assessments. Generally, technological advancement, lifestyle changes, and values transformations have been shown to correlate strongly with increasing levels of development. As a result, an exploration of modernization and its processes will provide one of the fundamental constructs for this project.

The second, and I will argue closely related, basic construct of this project is the differing understandings of societal conceptions of time. Research has shown that these different conceptions of time—of which there are two general categorizations that predominate the literature: linear and cyclical—are instrumental in the shaping of a society’s norms, values, and an assortment of other lifestyle factors, which will be explored in detail below. The construct of time, its impact on culture and society, and the ability for a society’s conception of time to change will become the second half of this project’s foundation.

The foundational constructs of modernization and time conceptions are interdependent. First, I will illustrate and argue that an important relationship exists between modernization, cultural values shifts, and societal conceptions of time. In basic terms, the process of modernization and the motivations for development stimulate shifts in both cultural values and societal understandings of time. Second, expounding upon the relationship between modernization, cultural values, and societal conceptions of time, this project will create two different types of interpersonal cultural ethics: an “ethic of being” and an “ethic of doing.” The implications of the differences between these two cultural ethics will be explored.

Foremost among these implications are the leadership challenges brought about by the changes associated with the process of modernization. This project will diagnose many of the salient leadership issues that result from the societal transformations brought about by modernization and changing conceptions of time.

The study will conclude with a case study that seeks to discern the dynamics of the predicted developments and their impact upon leadership and finally a section asserting the significance of this work and identifying several areas for further study.. The case study is derived from the author’s participant observation at The Desmond Tutu Peace Centre in Cape Town, South Africa.

Ultimately, the overarching argument of this study is that the process of modernization causes a transformation in both cultural values and cultural conceptions of time. These changes then necessitate a transformation in the type of leadership necessary to operate effectively within a society. Fortunately, these changes often occur in predictable ways. By investigating the various societal transformations that occur as a

result of modernization and by analyzing the leadership implications and the possibilities for overcoming the obstacles that are caused by societal changes related to modernization, this study seeks to contribute a unique analysis of modernization and a new potential model for community leadership within modernizing societies.

Chapter 1 - A Review of the Literature:

Modernization Theory and Post-modernization Theory

As will be explored in greater detail the second chapter of this project, Modernization theory has evolved greatly in the one hundred fifty-five years since Karl Marx formulated its theoretical base. From the mid-nineteenth century until the 1960s, the focus of Modernization theory was largely on economic factors and the democratization of developing nations. Since the 1960s, however, this focus has shifted. Current Modernization theory seeks to understand the various relationships between modernization, development, cultural values, and society. For purposes of clarity, Modernization theory up until 1960 will be referred to as “Early Modernization theory” and its practitioners will be called “Early Modernization theorists.” Current—post 1960s—Modernization theory and its practitioners will be referred to as “neo-Modernization theory” and “neo-Modernization theorists.”

In the following literature review, several of the most important and applicable studies and works in the field of Modernization theory will be summarized and their relationship to this project will be explored. This section is meant to provide the general background of Modernization theory in order to provide a basis for the second chapter of this project, which will explore aspects of Modernization theory in greater detail.

It is important to note that there are many different disciplines studying modernization and development. Furthermore, within each discipline there are a plethora of different schools, theories, and thinkers that espouse very disparate views on this subject. Throughout the literature review, footnotes, and even the body of this study, I will highlight some of these different views, but this paper’s study of the process of modernization takes a primarily political science approach, specifically through

Modernization and Neo-modernization theories and the work of Ronald Inglehart. For the purposes of this study, these theories provide the most useful framework to explore the impact of modernization on societies and culture.

Below are summaries of some of the important recent work in Modernization theory that is applicable to this project and a brief explanation their relevance to the project.

Apter, David E. "The Role of Traditionalism in The Political Modernization of Ghana and Uganda." *World Politics*. Vol. 13, No. 1. 1960.

Although this article carries many of the biases associated with early Modernization theory, it remains important in its application to this thesis project. Apter's main points are that traditionalism and modernization are inherently at odds. Apter describes two different types of traditional values structures: instrumental traditionalism and consummatory traditionalism. Instrumental traditionalism is associated with a hierarchical societal structure. Service to the king, chief, or government is primary and supercedes religious beliefs. The society is open to change, but change must be initiated by the leaders. Consummatory traditionalism, on the other hand, is characterized by a high level of social and political solidarity and utilizes religion as a "cognitive guide" for all decisions. The general make-up of these communities is pyramidal, and they are generally very resistant to all types of change. In the end, Apter concludes that

instrumental traditionalism is much more open to modernization and social change than consummatory traditionalism.

Despite being dated and having a very explicit bias in relation towards the objectives of development, Apter's article provides important insights into the modernization process in Africa. Its two categories are sufficiently general to be applicable in many societies and regions, and offer a very viable lens through which to understand different forms of African traditionalism.

Inkeles, Alex. "Convergence and Divergence in Industrial Societies." *Directions of Change: Modernization Theory, Research, and Realities*. USA: Westview Press, Inc. 1981.

Inkeles' arguments provide a basis for the current paradigm of Modernization theory and explicate an early hypothesis of international cultural convergence. He clearly outlines the fifteen assumptions underlying the "new" world outlook of contemporary Modernization theorists, explains how they differ from those of the earlier theory, and provides a justification for this change. Furthermore, Inkeles discusses the five elements of cultural convergence among international social systems and provides a model to illustrate this convergence among developing nations.

Inkeles work helps to provide both a clear understanding of current Modernization theory and to explore how this theory applies to this project. He also argues that "cultural convergence" is linked with modernization. Although he bases his work on the idea that modernization does not equal "Westernization," Inkeles' work

shows a very strong convergence in mass attitudes amongst a wide variety of nations. As a result, his work strongly supports this project's assertion of cultural convergence in Africa. It will be useful both in explaining modernization in Africa and in the discussion on the future leadership challenges and implications for the continent.

Jones, Ellen; and Fred W. Grupp. "Modernization and Traditionality in a Multiethnic Society: The Soviet Case." *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 79, No. 2. 1985.

Within this article, Jones and Grupp advance their thesis that modernization breaks down traditional values and alters societal value structures by analyzing mass attitudes and values in the Soviet Union. After analyzing a wide variety of traditional values (including treatment of women, child care, family life, worker rights, educational levels amongst females, etc.), the researchers concluded that modernization and "modern socio-economic settings tends to produce individuals with less traditional, more modern values (p. 487)."

Very little research has been done relating the components of Modernization theory to Africa. While the variables used in the above study are not applicable to this project, the methodology and analysis of traditional values and of multiple ethnicities will serve as a possible model for this study. Furthermore, the general thesis that modernization can transcend ethnicity and political borders to change mass attitudes and general cultural values lends support to a central claim of my research project.

Arat, Zehra F. "Democracy and Economic Development: Modernization Theory Revisited." *Comparative Politics*. Vol. 21, No. 1. 1988.

In many ways, Arat's essay is a precursor to Ronald Inglehart's work. Arat criticizes the notion that modernizing and Westernizing are synonymous, and draws a strong link between education levels and value-change within societies. Arat's work highlights the change in level of analysis for Modernization theory by outlining the transformation from individual and economic analysis to a systemic analysis of many factors. Finally, Arat shows how urban areas and rural areas develop at drastically different rates, and then justifies that these are factors that must be considered in order to understand the cultural changes that are related to development.

Each of these points plays an important role within my argument. Most specifically, Arat's argument regarding the importance of delineating between rural and urban regions when analyzing the cultural changes that are linked with development will be a crucial distinction during the application to leadership component of this project.

Escobar, Arturo. "Anthropology and the Development Encounter." *American Ethnologist*. Vol. 18, No. 4. Nov., 1991.

In his article entitled "Anthropology and the Development Encounter," Arturo Escobar traces the establishment of 'development anthropology' since 1970. Prior to 1970, the study of anthropology generally held the "notion that each society has reached an adjustment to the world that is best for it and requires no change (p. 658)." Since the 1970s, anthropologists have begun to become somewhat more accepting of the development process and no longer uniformly treat "social and cultural change as

abhorrent (p. 658).” Throughout the article, Escobar shows the difficulties and divisions that have occurred throughout anthropology over the creation of an anthropological framework for development. He further suggests that “development anthropologists” are definitively splitting from ‘traditional anthropologists’ within the field, and he then gives thoughts and suggestions for the future of anthropological study as it pertains to development. While this is a fascinating part of the general modernization literature, and anthropology will eventually have much to add to the general development scholarship, it is not in-line with the purposes of this study, and will therefore not be utilized to any great extent. This study’s approach to modernization, on the other hand, is based in political science research and theory, particularly Modernization and Neo-Modernization theory.

Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies.*” Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1997.

Inglehart, Ronald. “Does Latin America Really Exist?” *PS: Political Science and Politics*. Vol. 30, Is. 1. Mar., 1997.

Granato, James; Ronald Inglehart and David Leblang. “The Effect of Cultural Values on Economic Development: Theory, Hypotheses, and Some Empirical Tests.” *American Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 40, No. 3. 1996.

Ronald Inglehart, a distinguished political scientist and Program Director at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, has written some of the most recent, cutting-edge, and applicable work in the field of Modernization Theory.

Inglehart’s highly empirical research and findings have expanded the scope of Modernization and Post-modernization, while simultaneously refining the relationship

between politics, economics, and cultural values. His theories have laid the foundation to bridge the gaps between traditional, materialist and post-materialist values and his research has provided a solid empirical foundation for understanding the transition to materialist values and then into post-materialist values.

Much of Inglehart's research is based on the World Values Survey (WVS), a comprehensive study and survey of the "mass attitudes" of 43 societies that represent over 70% of the world's population. Many of these societies were surveyed several times throughout the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, in order to gain data for longitudinal studies to show evidence of cultural change. Data from the WVS is the foundation for much of Inglehart's work.

Like most Modernization theorists, Inglehart explains his work by showing how it differs from earlier Modernization theory. As a result, over the last several decades, Inglehart has helped to transform Modernization theory, by demonstrating that:

- Societal change is not linear.
- Relationships between economics, culture, and politics are reflexive and "mutually supportive."
- Modernization and Westernizing are not necessarily congruent, and cannot be assumed to be so.
- The establishment of democracy is not inherent within the process of modernization.

The article entitled "Does Latin America Exist?" utilizes Modernization theory and the World Values Survey to look for evidence of regional cultural values. Using several rudimentary statistical methods to analyze societal conceptions of authority and materialist versus post-materialist values, Inglehart showed that most regions, and some

continents (including Africa) have definable, coherent, and shared “mass attitudes” regarding the values that were hypothesized to be related with development.

Secondly, Inglehart has shown an extremely high correlation between economic development and the “achievement motivation” of the people within a society. In many ways, Inglehart’s work has secularized Weber’s thesis regarding the “protestant work ethic” and made it globally-applicable through his research on cultural values. In his words, “Protestantism was uniquely Western, but acquisitive rationality (“achievement motivation”) is not. Although industrialization occurred first in the West, the rise of the West was only one version of Modernization (Inglehart 1997).” Of all variables tested, the index of “achievement motivation” was correlated more highly with economic development than any others.

Inglehart’s work , particularly on cultural coherency and achievement motivation, will be explored more fully in the next chapter of this paper. While his foci have predominantly been in Latin America and much of the developing world, he has shown his theories and research to be globally applicable.

Chapter 2 - Modernizing Societies: A Closer Look at Cultural Values.

Introduction

Building on the information presented on Modernization theory and Post-modernization theory in the previous chapter, this chapter will explore the societal changes associated with development. Specific aspects of these theories will be further developed to answer the following questions, which are integral to setting both the scope and the foundation for this project: What specific value changes occur as societies develop? Is it possible to analyze societies at a regional or continental level? What is cultural convergence and what implications does this have for a developing world? What is the driving force behind modernization?

As a result, the chapter will begin with a general overview of Modernization theory and Post-modernization theory in order to establish the groundwork for the creation of the Development Continuum, which is a model for the societal change associated with development. The value structures that comprise this continuum—Traditional, Materialist, and Post-materialist—will then be discussed, compared, and analyzed. Next, the convergence of cultural values that results from modernization will be explored. Finally, the variable “achievement motivation” will be explained and analyzed, as it has been found to be the most significant single variable impacting rates of societal modernization throughout the world.¹ While this chapter strives for coherency and a complete discussion of many of the integral aspects of Modernization, its function is primarily to set-up the analysis to be found in later sections of this paper.

¹ Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization*.”

The History of Modernization

Modernization theory and the school of political scientists, sociologists, and other academicians who have contributed to its study have a long and well-established historical record that begins with Karl Marx and has evolved, fragmented, and transformed over the last century and a half. The general progression has moved from a theory based solely on the causative role that economics was supposed to have on development and democracy into a theory that seeks to explain the reflexive relationships between cultural factors, economics, and politics within a nation.

The evolution of Modernization and Post-modernization theory includes three main factors: the historical progression and increased scope of analysis; the altered assumptions underlying the paradigm; and the shift in values that the theories now seek to address. Understanding this evolution is essential for two main reasons. First, many important case studies applying Early Modernization theory were conducted under outdated assumptions. By understanding the progression of Modernization theory, these works can still provide important insights. Second, neo-Modernization theory defines itself in terms of earlier Modernization theory. The evolution of Modernization theory has been a process of refining, redefining, and altering previously accepted assumptions and values. As a result, one must understand both the beginnings of the theory and the progression that it has taken in order to have a clear comprehension of the neo-Modernization theory and how it is applied.²

² Salamon, Lester M. "Comparative History and the Theory of Modernization." In *World Politics*. Vol. 23, No. 1. October, 1970.

Historical Progression and Changing Scope

Theories of development and modernization within the study of political science are of all sorts, some expressly rational, others strictly relative. Some rational theories focus solely on external economic impetuses, while others analyze a nation's internal development of infrastructure and its regional economic diversification.³ Many relative theories, on the other hand, suggest that culture and cultural values determine political and economic advancement.⁴ The rational and relative boundaries of the modernization debate were formulated by Karl Marx and Max Weber, respectively.

Modernization theory originated with the work and theories of Karl Marx, who posited that economic and technological change are causal factors that drive cultural and political change.⁵ In other words, Marx believed that society and development could be explained explicitly through an economic class-based approach to analysis. This was the generally accepted mantra of modernization throughout much of the nineteenth century until German sociologist Max Weber argued, through his belief in the significance of the "Protestant Work Ethic," that the reverse is true: culture and values shape economic and political life.⁶ While Weber's work was largely accepted by the greater sociological and political science communities, his main holding that culture shapes economics and

³ Granato, Jim et. al. *"The Effect of Cultural Values on Economic Development: Theory, Hypotheses, and Some Empirical Tests."*

⁴ Weber, Max. *"The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism."*

⁵ Marx, Karl. *"Capital, the Communist Manifesto, and Other Writings."* Max Eastman, Ed. New York: 1932.

⁶ Weber, Max. *"The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism."* Stephen Kalberg, Translator. Chicago, IL: 2001.

politics was generally ignored by Modernization theorists for much of the first half of the twentieth century.⁷

In attempting to formulate a predictive theory prior to the 1960s, Early Modernization theorists took a Marxist approach, viewing culture as separate from economics and development, with the exception of the commonly-held belief that some societies placed a greater emphasis on achievement, and were therefore prone to greater economic development.⁸ These Early Modernization theorists focused solely on economic factors and external sources of capital as the sole causes of modernization, leading political scientist Erik Allardt to assert that ethnicity and cultural values were “the forgotten dimension of the analysis of society and politics” within much of political science.⁹ Many of these Early Modernization theorists believed that culture and cultural values were, more or less, unchanging and largely irrelevant constants, and therefore left them out of theories and analysis. Furthermore, these theorists viewed development through an intensely Western and modern lens that presupposed that the general Western model of development and society was the ideal endpoint of modernization to which all developing nations should strive to emulate.¹⁰ Early Modernization theorists were not concerned with understanding the correlation between modernization and cultural values changes. By equating modernization and development with “Westernizing” and by using liberal democracy as the end goal of modernization, these theorists were more concerned

⁷ Inglehart, Ronald. *“Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies.”* USA: Princeton University Press. 1997.

⁸ Granato, James. Ronald Inglehart and David Leblang. “The Effect of Cultural Values on Economic Development: Theory, Hypotheses, and Some Empirical Tests.” In *American Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 40, No. 3. August, 1996.

⁹ Allardt, Erik. “Changes in the Nature of Ethnicity: From the Primordial to the Organizational.” In *Directions of Change: Modernization Theory, Research, and Realities*. E. Mustafa O. Attir, Burkhart Holzner, and Zdemek Suda. USA: Arab Development Institute. 1981.

¹⁰ Allardt, Eric. “Changes in the Nature of Ethnicity: From the Primordial to the Organizational.”

with predicting which states, based upon their economic prolificacy, were best suited for democracy and a modern liberal society.

Beginning in the 1960's, and increasing with every decade thereafter, many political scientists have observed a global convergence within the realms of economics, geopolitics, and cultural values.¹¹ These findings have led to a drastically modified outlook on development, and consequently to new foci for Modernization theorists. While modernization (under Early Modernization theory) was considered synonymous with industrialization and "Westernizing," the predominant view of modernization (as used by neo-Modernization theorists) now takes a systemic analytical approach that focuses on the cultural composition of a society with a more values-neutral perspective.¹² Whereas Early Modernization theory focused on the ability of a society to progress towards a defined goal, neo-Modernization theorists focus on understanding the holistic impact of modernization on a society.¹³

This more comprehensive approach includes not only the integration of many societal and cultural factors with political, geopolitical, and economic considerations, but also has enlarged the scope of analysis. While Early Modernization theorists worked at the state-level, the increased importance of culture, ethnicity, and non-economic factors has caused many neo-Modernization theorists to analyze and apply neo-Modernization theory at the regional and even continental level.¹⁴ At first, this seems counter-intuitive as

¹¹ Rustow, Dankwart A. "Modernization and Comparative Politics: Prospects in Research and Theory." In *Comparative Politics*. Vol. 1, No. 1. October, 1968.

¹² Arat, Zehra. "Democracy and Economic Development: Modernization Theory Revisited." In *Comparative Politics*. Vol. 21, No. 1. October, 1988.

¹³ Jones, Ellen. And Fred. W. Grupp. "Modernization and Traditionality in a Multiethnic Society: The Soviet Case." In *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 79, No. 2. June, 1985.

¹⁴ Inglehart, Ronald. "Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies."

the inclusion of cultural values would logically necessitate a more focused and textured communal analysis. The cultural factors that are analyzed, however, are macro-values that have been shown to be regionally, and sometimes continentally, coherent.¹⁵

Changing Assumptions

Understanding the above progression of Early Modernization theory and several of its components is essential to understanding the current form and applicability of neo-Modernization theory. Since the inception of Modernization theory, many of the underlying assumptions have been altered, important definitions have changed, and the general focus has shifted. Early Modernization theory assumed that a primarily economic analysis was sufficient for understanding modernization.¹⁶ Furthermore, it was believed that modernization had an inevitable outcome: liberalizing and “Westernizing.”¹⁷ These two assumptions, however simple, provided the driving force behind Early Modernization theory until the 1960s.

Much has changed in the latter half of the twentieth century. In short, neo-Modernization theorists believe that “the core process of Modernization is industrialization; economic growth becomes the dominant societal goal, and achievement motivation becomes the dominant individual-level goal.”¹⁸ The purpose of neo-Modernization theory, therefore, is to analyze the cultural, developmental, and political impact that such growth and industrialization has on a society. As defined by Stanford

¹⁵ Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization.*”

¹⁶ Rustow, Dankwart A. “*Modernization and Comparative Politics.*”

¹⁷ Billet, Bret L. “*Modernization Theory and Economic Development: Discontent in the Developing World.*” USA: Praeger Publishers. 1993.

¹⁸ Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization.*” P. 5.

sociologist Alex Inkeles, the main, generally accepted assumptions of neo-Modernization theory are:

- “Industrial societies of the world are converging on a common social structure.”
- Since the 1960s, and increasingly with each passing decade, this convergence has accelerated.
- This convergence is highly differentiated and is determined by a concatenation of cultural and economic factors within each state or region.
- There is a “predictable” or “probable” pattern of change that occurs as nations develop—and although these changes are “historically conditioned,” there exists a general development pattern.
- These changes occur independently of the type of governing regime.
- Globalization—most prominently in the form of multinational corporations—is drastically accelerating the rate of cultural convergence brought on by development.
- Technological advancement is a fundamental component of the “main motor driving” modernization.¹⁹

Many of the aforementioned assumptions deal with “cultural convergence” or “convergence to a common social structure.” This is not a new phenomenon within Modernization literature, but its definition has changed drastically. Cultural convergence, prior to the 1960s, was understood as modernizing nations becoming increasingly similar—economically, politically, and in terms of infrastructure—to Western nations.²⁰ It has since evolved into the understanding that while modernization does correlate with increased economic and institutional likenesses, it is, more importantly, associated with a

¹⁹ Inkeles, Alex. “Convergence and Divergence in Industrial Societies.” In *Directions of Change: Modernization Theory, Research, and Realities*.

²⁰ Billet, Bret. L. “*Modernization Theory and Economic Development*.”

common and predictable values shift that causes many modernizing or modernized nations to have people with similar “mass attitudes.”²¹

Values Changes

As follows logically from the changes in assumptions between Early and neo-Modernization theorists, there has been a profound shift in the conception and operationalization of cultural values over the last five decades. Neo-Modernization theorists have defined “values” as the fundamental components of a culture, and “norms” as the means to realize those values. To bring about a change in values, two factors must be present: an event must alter the social norms of a society, and that event must be sufficiently influential so that the people of the society are aware that a return to the *status quo* is unlikely.²² The pace at which these changes occur is known as the “rate of change,” and has been the subject of many important studies by neo-Modernization theorists.

Perhaps the most well accepted theory based upon the “rate of change” concept has been the “Theory of Intergenerational Value Change,” put forward by Ronald Inglehart, a prolific and influential neo-Modernization and Post-modernization theory empiricist.²³ Inglehart’s theory, founded upon international empirical evidence, is that socioeconomic status and cultural values have a reflexive relationship. He found that most deeply-held cultural values are formulated during the adolescent and pre-adolescent years and are often very durable. In other words, any events or progressions that impact

²¹ Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization.*”

²² Suda, Zdenek. “The Rate of Social Change and Modernization.” In *Directions of Change: Modernization Theory, Research, and Realities.*

²³ Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization.*”

personal and cultural values will have a much greater impact on adolescents and pre-adolescents who are still forming their value systems. As a result, changes in cultural values are most pronounced at generational intervals.

The literature on Modernization theory asserts that, broadly categorized, there are three main types of values systems that are displayed in societies: traditional values, Materialist values, and Post-materialist values.²⁴ Societies move from Traditional to Materialist to Post-materialist values as they modernize and develop. Traditional values are characterized by the observance of religious values, the strong presence of an outside authority, a strong sense of communalism, and a paternal, hierarchical social structure²⁵. Materialist values emphasize economic and physical security, and individual rationality is the driving force behind most personal decisions.²⁶ Finally, Post-materialist values, usually displayed in developed nations, stress communal quality-of-life issues and societal well-being.²⁷

These two values shifts—to Materialist values when a society is beginning to modernize, and to Post-materialist values once a society has become industrialized—have become fundamental to neo-Modernization theory and its academicians. These changes, along with “Traditional value structures,” will be a main focus later in this project. The general, macro-level changes associated with development and modernization are extremely important. Neo-Modernization and Post-modernization theories have essentially created a framework to examine, explain and predict the progression that many cultures have made or are making: the shift from Traditional to Materialist to Post-

²⁴ Inglehart, Ronald. *“Modernization and Postmodernization.”*

²⁵ Apter, David. E. *“The Role of Traditionalism in the Political Modernization of Ghana and Uganda.”*

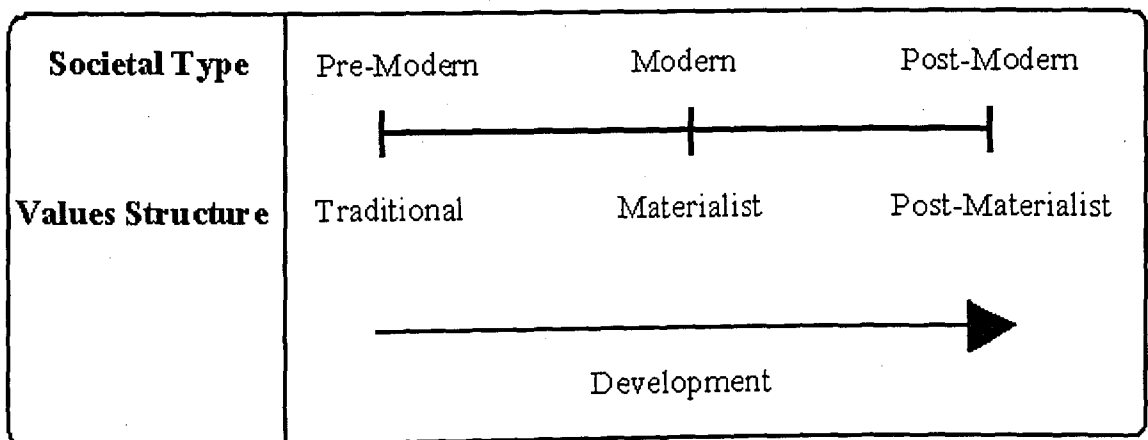
²⁶ Inglehart, Ronald. *“Modernization and Postmodernization.”*

²⁷ Inglehart, Ronald, and Marita Carballo. *“Does Latin America Exist?”*

materialist value systems. These general value systems carry many implications and can be analyzed with much greater detail when applied to a specific society or region, as this paper eventually will.

Cultural Values Shifts

The theories and empirical studies of Modernization theory and Post-modernization theory can be conjoined to create the Development Continuum that makes sense of evolving patterns of cultural values. This Continuum uses neo-Modernization theory to explain and predict the relationship between industrialization, development, culture, and society in lesser-developed nations. Post-Modernization theory is utilized to do much the same for the industrialized and more developed nations. As a society moves across this Continuum, its population's general values and "mass attitudes" change from "Traditional," to "Materialist," to "Post-materialist" as displayed in the figure below.



Before explaining the progression and linkages between the three general types of societal values and mass attitudes, we must define them each separately and briefly describe the functionality of each “values syndrome.”

Traditional values place a great amount of emphasis on “community development, cooperation, and communalism.”²⁸ Well-defined gender roles²⁹ and strictly observed religious doctrines are prevalent throughout all aspects of these primarily agrarian, subsistence societies.³⁰ In general, these firm societal norms and the importance of both heredity and ancestry in social structures causes lack of social mobility and diminishes the incentives for individual achievement.³¹ Furthermore, traditional cultures put innovation and “novelty on trial,” which stifles change and provides “validation of current behavior stemming from immemorial prescriptive norms.”³²

There are many manifestations of these traditional values displayed in societies, from Early Catholic Europe to much of present-day Africa. Sociologist David Apter describes the two prominent types of traditionalism that are pertinent to this study, instrumental and consummatory, which differ in both their structural composition and their general dispositions to change. Instrumental traditionalism is often a hierarchically-structured, monarchical or patriarchal system. Religion and religious values are secondary to the authority of the leader. In these types of systems, the leaders hold a tight grip over innovation. Change can either be “traditionalized” to quickly become a part of societal norms or it can be stifled or completely blocked, dependent upon the will of the

²⁸ Apter, David. “*The Role of Traditionalism in the Political Modernization of Ghana and Uganda.*”

²⁹ Jones, Ellen. And Fred. W. Grupp. “*Modernization and Traditionality in a Multiethnic Society: The Soviet Case.*”

³⁰ Inglehart, Ronald and Marita Carballo. “*Does Latin America Exist?*”

³¹ Apter, David. “*The Role of Traditionalism in the Political Modernization of Ghana and Uganda.*”

³² Apter, David. “*The Role of Traditionalism in the Political Modernization of Ghana and Uganda.*”

leader. Consummatory traditionalism, on the other hand, uses religion and religious values as a “cognitive guide” for nearly all aspects of life. The society has a pyramidal leadership structure, which leads to a high level of political and social solidarity. This intense communalism and religious orientation tends to block all types of change.³³

Materialist values, which correspond to “modern societies,” emphasize the importance of economic and physical security. Part of the “Materialist syndrome,” as labeled by Inglehart, is a societal move towards urbanization, an increase in the application of science and technology, a higher degree of bureaucratization, and a heightened emphasis on educational levels and attainment. In general, modernization brings about an increase in capitalist, achievement-oriented behavior.³⁴ According to Inglehart, “the core process of Modernization is industrialization; economic growth becomes the dominant societal goal, and achievement motivation becomes the dominant individual-level goal.”³⁵ Altogether, the main focus of citizens within a society displaying Materialist values is on personal security and individual economic accumulation.³⁶

Post-materialist values tend to appear in post-modern societies, societies that have sufficiently industrialized and developed to the point that their people live without fear for their physical security. These societies are moving away from a cultural perspective that values economic growth and functional efficiency, into one that emphasizes human considerations, self-expression, and quality-of-life issues. With basic individual needs having been met through development, citizens tend to focus more on communalism and aesthetics, while beginning to reject strictly rational economic

³³ Apter, David. “*The Role of Traditionalism in the Political Modernization of Ghana and Uganda.*”

³⁴ Granato, Jim et. al. “*The Effect of Cultural Values on Economic Development: Theory, Hypotheses, and Some Empirical Tests.*”

³⁵ Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization.*” p. 5.

³⁶ Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization.*”

decision-making. Post-materialist values catalyzed the formation of the “welfare state” among developed societies, and, according to Inglehart, post-modern societies show “greater tolerance of ethnic, cultural, and sexual diversity and individual choice concerning the kind of life one wants to lead.”³⁷ Equal rights for women and other minorities and an increased emphasis on participation within democratic processes are also important characteristics of post-materialist societies.³⁸

The Developmental Evolution of Cultural Values

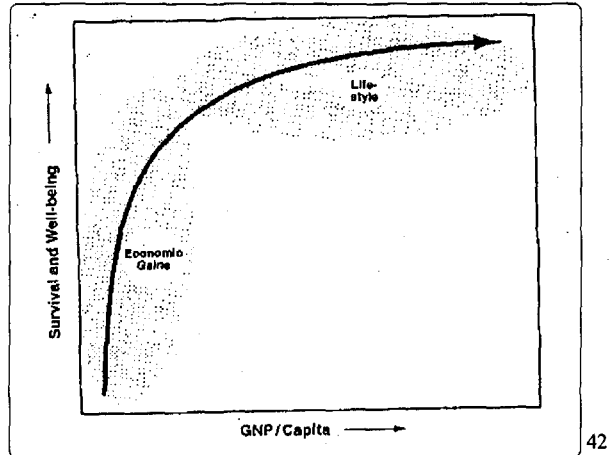
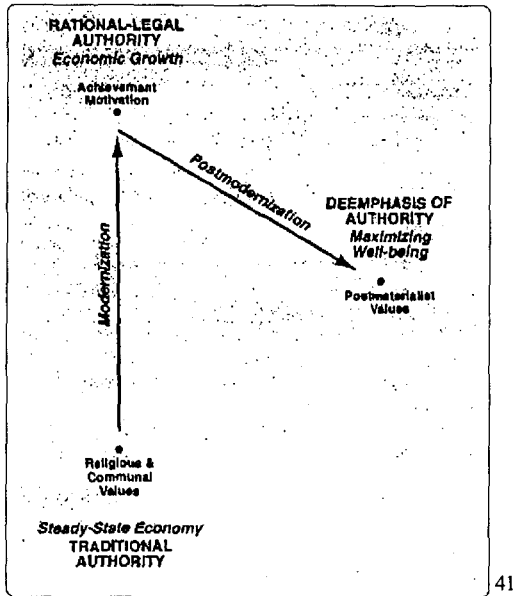
There is a wide-variety of explanations for the societal values changes associated with development. Perhaps the most simple is the application of Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs to societal development. In Maslow’s Hierarchy, basic physical needs dominate human consciousness until they are satisfied.³⁹ The communal solidarity, authoritarianism, and religious determinism associated with traditional societies tend to predominate in societies that are focused primarily on fulfilling these basic needs, as they provide support, security, and purpose to everyday life. As modernization and technology become slowly incorporated into a society, there becomes new means by which to secure these needs. As a result, the desire for personal economic growth dominates individual decision-making, ushering in the Materialist value structure associated with modernization. Once security and basic physical needs have been met through the process of development, people move on to “higher” needs of emotional well-being and

³⁷ Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization.*” p. 23.

³⁸ Inglehart, Ronald and Marita Carballo. “*Does Latin America Exist?*”

³⁹ Maslow, Abraham K. “*Motivation and Personality.*” New York: Harper and Row. 1954.

self-actualization.⁴⁰ As a result, societies begin to shift towards Post-materialist values systems (see figures below).



Many political scientists have looked for other reasons that societal values change through the process of Modernization. Starting with the shift from Traditional to Materialist values, there is a general consensus that the process of modernizing is inherently at odds with traditional values.⁴³ As societies modernize, their traditional value structures inevitably break down. There have been several attempts made to identify the catalysts for this process. According to Alex Inkeles and David Smith, an emphasis on education and educational attainment is strongly correlated with both modernization and with the creation of a “modern worldview,” which incorporates materialist values into a

⁴⁰ Maslow, Abraham K. “Motivation and Personality.”

⁴¹ Inglehart, Ronald. “Modernization and Postmodernization.” p. 75.

⁴² Inglehart, Ronald. “Modernization and Postmodernization.” p. 65.

⁴³ Jones, Ellen and Fred Grupp. “Modernization and Traditionality in a Multiethnic Society: The Soviet Case.” Armer, M and Isaac, L. “Determinants and behavioral consequences of psychological modernity: Empirical Evidence from Costa Rica.” 1978. Inkeles, A. and Smith, D. H. “Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries.” 1982. Kumar, K. and Waisanen, F. B. “Education, adoption of innovation and individual modernity.” 1979.

society.⁴⁴ Other political scientists, including Zehra Arat, Gabriel Almond, and Sidney Verba, have used Max Weber's classic thesis to apply the general ideas of the "Protestant work ethic" to the process of modernization and values change.⁴⁵ Daniel Lerner, on the other hand, has postulated that increased urbanization allows both commerce and education to flourish, thereby promoting development and the shift of values from Traditional to Materialist.⁴⁶

It is important to note that Modernization and Post-modernization theorists do not claim that these value changes are necessarily the result of any direct causal relationship, but that the change in value structures is highly correlated with different levels of development. These studies have given rise to the central claim of neo-Modernization theory: that "economic, cultural, and political change go together in coherent patterns that are changing the world in predictable ways."⁴⁷ In other words, with an understanding of these relationships, the development path of a society can often be anticipated with a high degree of accuracy. In summation, research has shown that as societies move into industrialization and modernization, their cultural values become increasingly individualistic and achievement-oriented in both the economic and personal realms. Once physical needs have been sufficiently met, the people of modernized nations have been shown to focus on communal quality-of-life issues and societal well-being.⁴⁸

Scope of Applicability and Evidence for Global Cultural Convergence

⁴⁴ Inkeles, Alex, and David Smith. *"Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries."* 1974.

⁴⁵ Arat, Zera. *"Democracy and Economic Development: Modernization Theory Revisited."* 1988. Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba. *"The Civic Culture"* 1958.

⁴⁶ Lerner, Daniel. *"The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East."* 1958.

⁴⁷ Inglehart, Ronald. *"Modernization and Postmodernization."*

⁴⁸ Inglehart, Ronald. *"Modernization and Postmodernization."*

It is clear that there are three general types of societal values that correspond to different levels of development, but how must we define “society” so that these value structures will remain coherent? Furthermore, if the progression from Traditional to Materialist to Post-materialist values has been demonstrated to occur alongside development, and, with few exceptions, all of the world’s societies are developing, does this mean that the values of these societies are going to become increasingly similar as they move into Materialist and Post-materialist value structures?

To answer the first question regarding the definition of a “society” in which these cultural values remain coherent, Inglehart asserts, “it is not self-evident that a given group does share a common world-view”⁴⁹ or cultural values. Results from the World Values survey, however, clearly illustrate that many societies do have coherent value structures, and that “certain cultural and political changes do seem to be logically linked with the dynamics of modernization.”⁵⁰ Furthermore, while many political scientists in recent decades have argued against this type of work, asserting that “culture cannot be changed” and that economic arguments fully account for modernization rates,⁵¹ Inglehart and his colleagues have shown that values regarding achievement, authority, general well-being, religion, and acceptance are “anything but random.”⁵² They are coherent at the national, regional, and sometimes continental levels and are closely related with levels of economic development.⁵³

⁴⁹ Inglehart, Ronald and Marita Carballo. “Does Latin America Exist?” p. 35.

⁵⁰ Inglehart, Ronald and Marita Carballo. “Does Latin America Exist?” p. 35.

⁵¹ Granato, Jim. “*The Effect of Cultural Values on Economic Development: Theory, Hypotheses, and Some Empirical Tests.*”

⁵² Inglehart, Ronald and Marita Caballo. “Does Latin America Exist?” p. 37.

⁵³ Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization.*” Inglehart, Ronald and Marita Carballo. “Does Latin America Exist?” Granato, Jim. “*The Effect of Cultural Values on Economic Development: Theory, Hypotheses, and Some Empirical Tests.*”

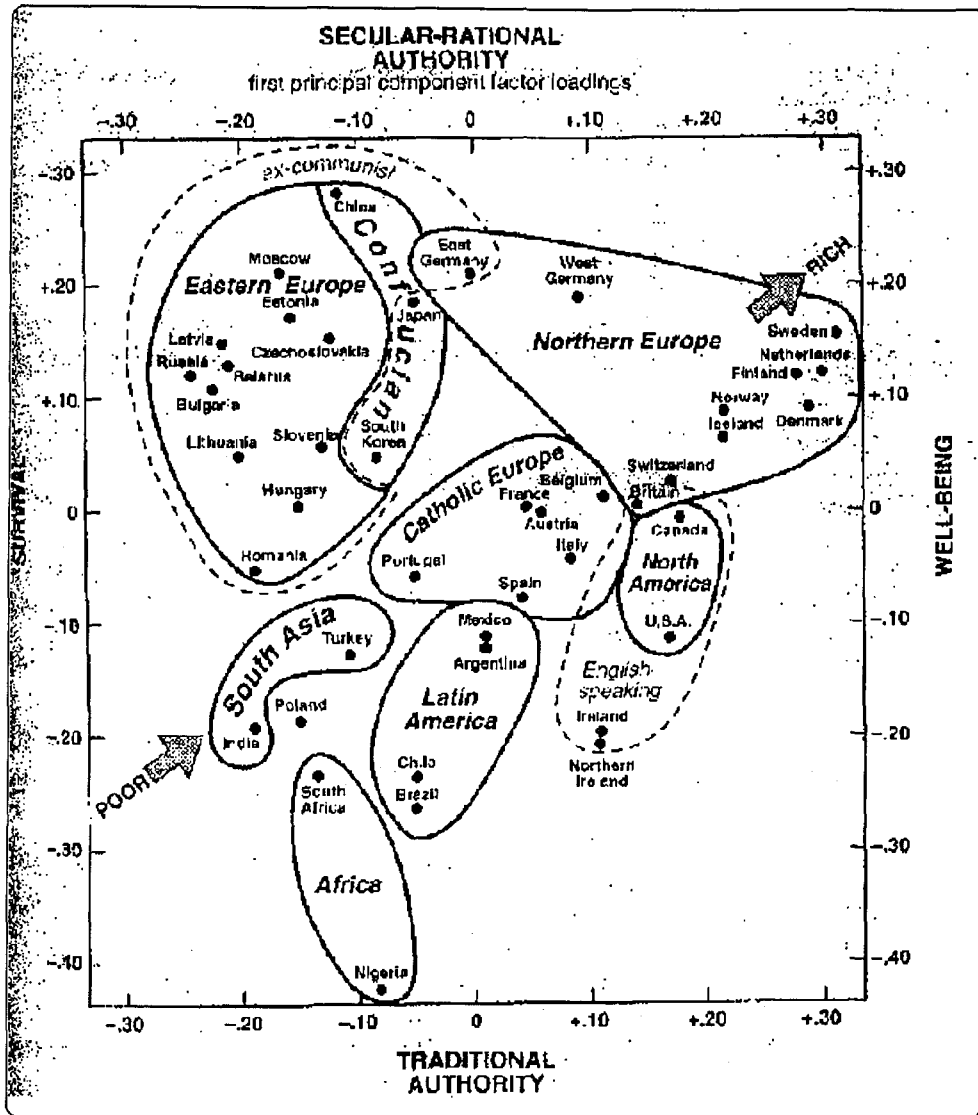
To begin, Inglehart and his colleagues showed that many nations and regions do have coherent value structures by placing the 43 nations of the World Values survey on a coordinate plane that measures two different cultural dispositions (graph provided at the conclusion of this section). The X-axis measures the impact of religion and common types of authority in a society through creating a continuum between “traditional authority” and “secular-rational authority.” The Y-axis, measures the general focus of life for a society along a continuum between “survival” focus and a focus on general “well-being.” Through a principle components factor analysis, these two values alone were shown to be responsible for “fully 51% of the cross-national variance” among all of the data in the World Values Survey. Not only did these findings provide strong evidence for the existence of Traditional, Materialist, and Post-materialist value structures, but the placement of nations on the axes very clearly shows that these values are coherent at the regional, and—in the case of Latin America, North America, and Africa—the continental level.⁵⁴ These coherent value structures also adhere to the predictions that with increased development and modernization, nations will move from Traditional to Materialist to Post-materialist values.

To answer the second initial question regarding the “cultural convergence” of value structures associated with development, the evidence showing that most regions and some continents share coherent value structures that correspond to the level of modernization in a given society leads to speculation that cultures around the world are growing increasingly similar. This speculation holds true on some macro-levels, since the values that are growing increasingly similar through the process of modernization are

⁵⁴ Inglehart, Ronald and Marita Caballo. “*Does Latin America Exist?*” p. 41. Inglehart, Ronald. “Modernization and Postmodernization.” p. 93.

“mass attitudes” and “macro-values” that measure dispositions to large-scale values—such as general dispositions to authority, hard work, the environment, or women’s rights. As nations modernize, they have been shown to progress along the Development Continuum, and tend to share increasingly similar types of values (Materialist or Post-materialist). Inglehart is quick to point out, however, that there are many cultural nuances and specificities that are unrelated to development and modernization. In that respect, while each developing society tends to be moving in the same general direction, they each have a different starting point based upon their unique culture and traditions.⁵⁵ In other words, societies are converging through modernization at the macro-level in some predictable ways, but remain unique based upon their individual histories, values, and peoples.

⁵⁵ Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization*.”



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Achievement Motivation – The Driving Force of Development.

While the transition from Modernization to Post-modernization and the corresponding switch from Materialist to Post-materialist values are explained by the “natural” progression from needs of security to quality-of-life considerations,⁵⁷ the impetus for Traditional societies to modernize has been more difficult to understand. Dr. Jin Lee, a professor of Human Development at Brown University, has asserted that this

⁵⁶ Inglehart, Ronald. “Modernization and Postmodernization.” P. 93.

⁵⁷ Maslow, Abraham K. “Motivation and Personality.”

difficulty has been caused by the predominance of outcome-based analysis. Li argues that inputs such as mindsets, mass attitudes, and cultural values must be analyzed in order to understand the reasons that traditional societies move towards modernization. These “achievement beliefs” impact “achievement behavior,” but remain distinct from the eventual “achievement outcome,” which has been the focus of most past research. As a result, these mindsets, attitudes, and values must be analyzed separately.⁵⁸

The belief in the cultural and attitudinal underpinnings of analyzing achievement motivation finds its intellectual roots in Weber’s “Protestant work ethic,” which demonstrated the profound importance of culture and belief systems on modernization.⁵⁹ In “*The Achieving Society*,” David McClelland both expanded and refocused Weber’s thesis by secularizing the values that comprise “the Protestant work ethic,” and then measuring and analyzing the societal importance placed on passing on these values to children in a society.⁶⁰ Generally, through a content analysis of children’s stories, school books, and other educational materials, McClelland found that some societies do emphasize economic achievement more strongly than others. The nations that place more of a cultural emphasis on achievement tend to be more modernized and economically developed than those nations that place less of an emphasis on achievement.⁶¹ Despite various criticisms of McClelland’s methodology,⁶² his work is consistent with Bempechat and Elliott’s findings that “children’s performance in schools are influenced by their

⁵⁸ Li, Jin. “Learning Models in Different Cultures.” In “*Learning in Culture and Context: Approaching the Complexities of Achievement Motivation in Student Learning*.” Ed. By Janine Bempechat and Julian G. Elliott. 2002.

⁵⁹ Weber, Max. “*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.”

⁶⁰ McClelland, David C. “*The Achieving Society*.” D. Van Nostrand Company, LTD. New York: 1961.

⁶¹ McClelland, David C. “*The Achieving Society*.”

⁶² Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization*.”

beliefs and attitudes about learning,”⁶³ and was later confirmed by several similar studies.⁶⁴

Building on David McClelland’s work on societal motivations and cultural emphases regarding the emphasis that a society places on achievement,⁶⁵ Jim Granato, Ronald Inglehart, and David Leblang have argued both individually and in concert that a society’s “achievement motivation” is the central factor driving modernization and the shift from traditional values to materialist values.⁶⁶ “Achievement motivation” is a conglomeration of several different types of values, including educational attainment, societal attitudes towards growth and development, individual discipline, and personal disposition to authority. In many ways, this variable of “achievement motivation” has secularized Weber’s “Protestant work ethic,” added an emphasis on education, and included several other cultural factors. By incorporating many early hypotheses into a single, multifaceted variable, these political scientists have created a concept that is very strongly correlated both with modernization and with materialist values in societies across the globe.⁶⁷

In his book “Modernization and Postmodernization,” Inglehart furthered the study of “achievement motivation” by creating a four-item variable, applying it to the results of the World Values survey, and analyzing the correlation between the “achievement motivation” of a society and its economic development. Inglehart’s “Achievement

⁶³ Bempechat, Janine and Julian G. Elliott. “*Learning in Culture and Context: Approaching the Complexities of Achievement Motivation in Student Learning.*” Wiley Periodicals. USA: 2002.

⁶⁴ Lenski, Gerhard. “*The Religious Factor.*” Anchor-Doubleday. New York: 1963. Alwin, Duane F. “Religion and Parental Child-Rearing Orientations: Evidence of a Catholic-Protestant Convergence.” *American Journal of Sociology.* 1986.

⁶⁵ McClelland, David. “*The Achieving Society.*” 1961.

⁶⁶ Granato, Jim et. al. “*The Effect of Cultural Values on Economic Development: Theory, Hypotheses, and Some Empirical Tests.*” Inglehart, Ronald. “Modernization and Postmodernization.”

⁶⁷ Granato, Jim et. al. “*The Effect of Cultural Values on Economic Development: Theory, Hypotheses, and Some Empirical Tests.*” Inglehart, Ronald. “Modernization and Postmodernization.”

Motivation” measures the importance that a society places on teaching its children four values: “thrift,” “determination,” “obedience,” and “religious faith.” This variable uses the values of “thrift” and “determination” as the “achievement motivation” goals, while “obedience” and “religious faith” are utilized to measure “traditional goals.”⁶⁸ In other words, the variable seeks to determine whether a society’s parents value teaching their children about hard-work and economic accumulation or about adherence to religious values and acceptance of authority. The greater the emphasis on the “achievement motivation” goals, the higher the “Achievement Motivation” score of a society. Inglehart found a strong correlation ($r = 0.66$, statistically significant to the .001 level) between this “Achievement motivation” variable and economic growth rates over the past three decades.⁶⁹ In a multivariate analysis, the “Achievement Motivation” variable was more highly correlated with development than was any other variable.

Whether through analyzing outcomes, attitudes, or values, the work of many political scientists have yielded similar results to those shown by Inglehart. IQ and educational attainment correlate highly with development.⁷⁰ Work ethic and determination levels promote modernization.⁷¹ Although this concept regarding a society’s achievement-orientation has been operationalized into a myriad of diverse formulations, the importance of education, hard work, and achievement have been repeatedly shown to be closely related to societal development and to modernization.

⁶⁸ Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization.*”

⁶⁹ Inglehart, Ronald. “*Modernization and Postmodernization.*”

⁷⁰ Owen, Glen. “*The Wealth of Nations is Mapped by Their IQ.*” The Times (London). November 10, 2003. Inkeles, A. and Smith, D. H. “*Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries.*” 1982. Jones, Ellen and Fred Grupp. “*Modernization and Traditionality in a Multiethnic Society: The Soviet Case.*” Armer, M and Isaac, L. “*Determinants and behavioral consequences of psychological modernity: Empirical Evidence from Costa Rica.*” 1978

⁷¹ Weber, Max. “*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.*” McClelland, David C. “*The Achieving Society.*”

While a society's "achievement motivation" is highly correlated with development and modernization, developed nations often reach a point of diminishing returns where further industrialization and economic achievement does not continue to lead to productive growth. "Achievement motivation" is catalyzed by the motivation to meet physical and security needs. Once physical needs are met, the needs for happiness and well-being become an individual's and a society's highest priority.⁷² Rather than a focus on Materialist individuality, Post-materialism focuses on quality-of-life. As a result, Post-modern societies tend to reject the growth mantra of Modernization and undergo a change of focus from "maximum economic gains to maximum subjective well-being."⁷³ Modernization and Materialist values brought about a "relatively competitive, impersonal, bureaucratic, achievement-oriented form of social relations that tends to be dehumanizing and stressful."⁷⁴ This shift into the participatory culture associated with Post-materialist values carries many political implications, including increasing acceptance of social welfare and greater environmental awareness.⁷⁵ As a result, democratic institutions flourish through the process of Post-modernization and the corresponding societal transformation into a Post-materialist value structure.⁷⁶

Conclusions

Modernization theory has evolved significantly since its inception in the early nineteenth century. Recent work of Modernization theorists gives important insight into the societal changes associated with the process of modernization by analyzing the

⁷² Inglehart, Ronald. *"Modernization and Postmodernization."*

⁷³ Inglehart, Ronald and Marita Caballo. *"Does Latin America Exist?"*

⁷⁴ Inglehart, Ronald. *"Modernization and Postmodernization."* P. 106.

⁷⁵ Inglehart, Ronald, and Marita Caballo. *"Does Latin America Exist?"*

⁷⁶ Inglehart, Ronald. *"Modernization and Postmodernization."*

‘macro-values’ of a society and investigating how these values change as a society develops. Work done with the World Values Survey is a primary source for such information. Data analyses from these surveys have suggested both that societies tend to have sets of ‘macro-values’ that are coherent at the national, regional and sometimes continental level and that societies tend to progress from adhering to Traditional values to Materialist values to Post-materialist values as they modernize. Finally, a society’s disposition and drive towards achievement—its ‘achievement motivation’—is the variable that is most closely correlated with societal development and is the primary impetus causing a society to modernize.

Altogether, the above chapter serves as an explanation for the changes in societal values that occur throughout the process of modernization and will serve as an important foundation for the remainder of this study which further investigates the societal impacts of modernization and analyzes the implications that these challenges have on effective leadership within diverse and changing societies.

Chapter 3 - A Second Review of the Literature:

Cultural Conceptions of Time

This section of the Literature Review has two aims: to provide a theoretical basis for the study of cultural conceptions of time, and to review the prominent literature regarding concepts of time in Africa. The literature cited below was taken primarily from the fields of philosophy, sociology, and anthropology. This section will first provide a general outline of the study of cultural conceptions of time, identifying many of the key concepts that will be explored further in the following chapter. Next is a brief history outlining the work of some prominent Western thinkers who have theorized on the concept of time. Finally, I will summarize some of the most significant and pertinent work in the field.

General Overview

The study of the cultural concept of time is by no means a new area of study, but it has gained increasing attention in recent decades. Before going forward with an overview of the literature on time, it is important to clearly define the term “conception of time” and to narrow its scope, as the study of time within academia encompasses many areas of study that lie outside the realm of this project. For example, perhaps the most prominent study of time involves the hard sciences and the physical and cosmological relationship between space and time. This project does not seek to explicate time in the scientific and mathematical sense. It is focused, however, on explaining the way that people and societies understand and use time, how that conception of time impacts life and culture, and how those conceptions change and evolve as the society changes and evolves. This area of study is generally referred to as “social time.”

There is a fair amount of literature that pertains indirectly to this focus. The seminal work of the field is a sociological foray into religion and the impact of religion on daily life, entitled “*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, a Study in Religious Sociology*” by Emile Durkheim. Many of the other early works do not focus directly on the issue of time, but on some other component of life that indirectly relates to the understanding of time. As a result, the study of time coalesced gradually as scholars began to integrate these disparate, yet related, studies. Most of this combinatory work has progressed within the fields of anthropology and philosophy. The results, however, have been applied within many different academic disciplines.

Altogether, the theoretical literature is extremely useful in its direct application to this project, as it provides a general framework through which to understand the two most prevalent conceptions of time—linear and cyclical—and to explore the connections between social time and societal development. Unfortunately, however, time theorists generally raise profound questions and opine potential connections between time, society, politics and development, but often conclude without fully developing these relationships. Despite these incomplete arguments, the literature provides a very solid theoretical foundation for this project.

Practically, there are countless case studies that apply the societal conceptions of time to any number of factors in communities and nations across the globe. These studies are extremely useful, as they have identified many cultural factors that formulate a society’s conception of time and have sought to explain how changes within a society may impact this conception. While there are a plethora of these case studies, there are only several that have directly analyzed the concepts of time in Africa.

As a result of this dearth in the literature, this study will be focusing first on explicating the different theoretical conceptions of time and explaining their impact on a society. Using the previous case studies, African philosophy, and anthropological histories of several African tribes—in conjunction with the empirical data from Modernization theorists regarding cultural coherency at the continental level—the general conceptions of time will be identified, explained and analyzed. As a result, the analysis and summaries presented below will focus primarily on presenting the general themes within the study of social time, and summarize several important cases in which it has been applied to Africa.

Brief History

The explicit study⁷⁷ of the concept of time is traceable back to the philosophical works of Aristotle⁷⁸ and St. Augustine,⁷⁹ who both theorized time can be broken down into its component parts: past, present, and future. For them, time was seen as a progression. People created the past, lived the present, and moved forward into the future. As history progressed, the concept and understanding of time became increasingly complex. Sir Isaac Newton introduced the idea that there are two types of time: the relative, common time that we experience in everyday life; and the absolute, true time that is mathematical, precise, and exists independently of human experience and

⁷⁷ Important to this project is that in Western philosophy, ideas are attributed to specific thinkers. Through this personalization of innovation and the dense written history of Western philosophy, the study of time within this project is dominated by Western thinkers. John Ayoade asserts, in his book chapter titled "Time in Yoruba Thought" that innovation and philosophy in African society is much more communal. While ideas are created by specific persons within a society, the idea is not given a specific origin with a person. Furthermore, the predominantly oral history of African philosophy and thought further complicates the issue by making these historical progressions often impersonal and inexact.

⁷⁸ Adler, Mortimore J. and William Gorman, eds. "The Great Ideas: A Syntopicom of the Great Books of the Western World." Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica. 1955.

⁷⁹ Augustine, Saint. "The City of God." New York: Dutton. 1945.

perception.⁸⁰ After Newton, time began to be segmented into different areas of study.

Absolute, true time has evolved into the relativity debate that remains a pervasive part of modern physics. Relative, common time, however, has evolved into the study of social time that this project seeks to understand.

As stated above, the current study of social time within academia is traced back to Emile Durkheim's "*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, a Study in Religious Sociology*(summarized below)."⁸¹ The following summaries provide a general overview of the study of social time, and introduce many of the issues that will be developed further throughout this project.

Durkheim, Emile. "*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, a Study in Religious Sociology*." Glencoe, IL: Free Press. 1968.

Along with Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, the prominent French sociologist, created the boundaries through which the study of cultural conceptions of time has progressed. Durkheim's scholarship created the paradigm still used by many time theorists, and his book "*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, a Study in Religious Sociology*" was the first seminal work in the field. Durkheim studied the influence of religion and religious beliefs on the formation of society. In short, he theorized that a person's understanding of time is impacted by their conceptions of authority, perceptions of the meaning of life through religious beliefs, and understandings of mortality and

⁸⁰ Ayoade, John. A. "Time in Yoruba Thought." In "*African Philosophy: An Introduction*." Ed. Richard A. Wright. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America. 1977.

⁸¹ Greenhouse, Carol J. "*A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures*." USA: Cornell University Press. 1966.

death. While more recent scholarship has been aimed to refute these claims, Durkheim's work remains largely influential within the study of time.

Perhaps Durkheim's most important contribution to the field was his creation of three different types of time: the category of time, "social time," and individual time. The category of time "is like an endless chart, where all duration is spread out before the mind, and upon which all possible events can be located (p. 23)." In other words, there is an objective and real time that exists independent of human thought and experience. "Social time," a term first coined by Durkheim in 1915, refers to the cultural construction of time that societies create, which is born out of collective experience and is used to organize a society. Durkheim contends that social time is created through the observance and understanding of consistent external factors and indicators. For instance, star and moon patterns—consistent external indicators that are unchanged by human interactions and experience—are given meaning by a society and become the basis for that society's conception of time, known as "social time." Symbols and beliefs—in this case, religious beliefs—can also have a profound impact on a society's conception of "social time." Finally, individual time is a person's own temporal orientation, their personal awareness of time. Individual time is impacted by many societal and personal factors. Ultimately, individual time is unique to each individual, but is conditioned by both the category of time and the society's perception of social time. These three categories that Durkheim explicated have dominated the further debate and scholarship on the study of time.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. *"The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nolutic People."* New York: Oxford Press. 1940.

Anthropologist Evans-Pritchard took Durkheim's stratification of time a step further, and began to define two different conceptions of "social time." Through his study of the Nuer society of southern Sudan, Evans-Pritchard observed two distinct modalities of time, which he then referred to as "ecological time" and "structural time." Ecological time, much like Durkheim's conception of social time, was based upon changes in the physical world. For the Nuer, these conceptions of time were imperative for physical survival. Being cattle-grazers, many of the Nuer organized their lives around the seasonal changes and weather patterns that impacted their lifestyles and therefore dominated their conception of ecological time.

Structural time, on the other hand, is conceived by the community and is greatly influenced by the interactions that took place within the Nuer society. Structural time is a collective temporal orientation that governed social relationships, and connects lineage and ancestry with the present customs and traditions of a society. With an inherent emphasis on the interrelationships between societal traditions and values, structural time is, by its nature, completely cultural. According to Evans-Pritchard, all societies have a unique "structural time" to reflect their common understanding, experience, and culture.

Geertz, Clifford. *"The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays."* New York: Basic Books. 1973.

Bloch, Maurice. "Astrology and writing in Madagascar." In *"Literacy in Traditional Societies."* Jack Goody, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1968.

These two works are being summarized together because they share some similarities, but also have fundamental differences that illustrate a crucial division within the study of time. Furthermore, each author actively critiqued the others work throughout their respective careers—leading to their logical pairing in a review of the literature.

Clifford Geertz, an anthropology professor at Princeton University, wrote an essay entitled "Person, Time, and Conduct in Bali" that has, in many ways, furthered Evans-Pritchard's conception of structural time. At its base, Geertz asserts that there are two general types of time perception: cyclical and progressive. Building off of the more traditional understandings of cyclical and linear time, Geertz offers that both traditional forms of time exist only in theory. In reality, societal conceptions of time are entirely relative for Geertz. People develop innumerable "permutations" of time, in accordance with their own cultural contexts and personal perceptions. While the concept of "social time" exists and is greatly influential within Geertz framework, any individual's perception of an event is conditioned both by the society's construction of "social time"—categorized into cyclical and progressive temporal realities—and by that individual's personal understanding of time. As a result, every society has a unique conception of social time that is made even more relative because every individual within that society personalizes that concept into their own perspective of time.

Maurice Bloch, professor of anthropology at the London School of Economics and Political Science, asserts that Geertz's propositions are too complex and attacks his arguments regarding the relative nature of time within a society. Bloch asserts that there is only one general concept of time. If there were more, he argues, humans from different systems of ideas would not be able to communicate together with any degree of effectiveness. While Bloch believes in a single conception of time that is ultimately relevant and comprehensible to all humans, he has also asserted that there are only two approaches for society's to conceptualize and operationalize this universal time: cyclically and linearly. These two categories represent distinctions in the way society's put time to use, and are therefore shaped by communication, cognition, and functional factors.

Greenhouse, Carol J. "A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures." New York: Cornell University. 1996.

In "A Moment's Notice," Carol Greenhouse, a professor of anthropology at Indiana University, outlines many important advancements in the literature of time scholarship before embarking on an original and persuasive thesis. Like most theorists, Greenhouse strongly asserts her assumption that time is a culturally constructed phenomena, and that people and cultures throughout the world conceive of time differently. Greenhouse uses Durkheim's thesis on religion to explain past scholarship and to show some cultural differences that impact a society's conception of time—such as her contention that in the West there is "a theological image that gives eternity to God

and time to human society (p. 19),” which she uses to explain the large-scale differences between Eastern and Western conceptions of time. While she uses Durkheim’s hypothesis as an explanatory vehicle for summarizing and explicating the literature on time, she ultimately rejects Durkheim’s assumptions and then formulates an original theory.

Greenhouse argues that a society’s conception of time is a reflection of the peoples’ “cultural formulations of agency and their compatibility or incompatibility with specific institutional forms (p. 4).” Agency, as used by Greenhouse, is a complex and multifaceted term. Greenhouse defines “agency” as “what makes things happen and what makes acts relevant in relation to social experience, however conceived (p. 1).” A cultural understanding of the way the universe works, societal conceptions of the purpose and meaning of life, an understanding of the afterlife and of human mortality, and a plethora of other, less salient, factors coalesce to form the agency of a society—and therefore influence a society’s understanding of time.

Greenhouse then explicates a theory on cultural change, and the relationship between leadership, culture, and conceptions of time through the use of case studies in Ancient China, Aztec Mexico, and the United States. She concludes that “new forms of diversity (p. 14)” lead to the questioning of both the legitimacy of leaders and the previously accepted construction of time, which then leads to a shift in general understanding of time within a society. Modernization causes “legitimacy crises” within a society that alter that society’s conception of time. Greenhouse defines “legitimacy” broadly, and states that modernizing and entering into Post-modernity is a primary cause of shifts in a society’s conception of time.

Greenhouse also subscribes to the linear-cyclical bifurcation that is generally accepted among time scholars. In “A Moment’s Notice,” Greenhouse discusses not only the theoretical differences between the two alternate conceptions of time, but also begins to explore the impact of time on societal construction, and the functional differences that result from these different conceptions. While helpful, this section of her work is left largely underdeveloped.

Finally, Greenhouse’s work creates a justification for studying the concepts of time at a macro-level. Detail is sacrificed as the viewpoint becomes increasingly panoramic, but the theories and assumptions underlying time theory hold true. For instance, Greenhouse outlines the differences between “Western” time—which is expressly linear—and time conceptions in several non-Western cultures (China and Mexico, specifically), and then analyzes the points of convergence and divergence between these societies.

While her work lacks detail in some areas that will be vital to this project, by explicating the functional differences between the two most-prevalent conceptions of time and by beginning to explore the relationship between a society’s conception of time and the construction of that society, Greenhouse’s work will provide a very solid foundation for this research project.

Mbiti, John S. *"African Religions and Philosophy."* New York: Praeger. 1969.

Masolo, D. A. *"African Philosophy In Search of Identity."* Bloomington, Indiana: University of Indiana Press. 1994.

John Mbiti, in his important work entitled *African Religions and Philosophy*, was one of the first African philosophers to explicate a philosophy of "African time." Masolo, in turn, recognizes Mbiti as "one of the most widely known scholars of traditional African religious thought (p. 103)," before variously criticizing and clarifying many aspects of Mbiti's philosophy. This interchange provides three main insights into the African philosophy of time: it shows Mbiti's work to be the seminal, and perhaps only, major work in the field of "African time;" through the points of contention between the two authors, it highlights the essential aspects of "African time;" and it provides a framework for understanding "African time" through general African philosophy.

According to Mbiti, the concept of time for African people extends directly from their African religion or spirituality. To begin his work, Mbiti justifies his foray into African conceptions of time by asserting that "the concept of time may help to explain beliefs, attitudes, practices, and general way of life of African peoples not only in the traditional set up but also in the modern situation (p. 16)." For Mbiti, the general disposition to time in Africa exerts a far-reaching influence on many aspects of culture and societal construction throughout Africa.

Mbiti begins by delineating between "actual time" and "potential time" as the two main components of time in Africa. "Actual time" consists of the present and the past. It dominates African thinking and values, and provides a backward-looking continuity to African life and traditionalism. "Potential time" on the other hand is the immediate

future, and only those things that are certain to occur—such as natural and cosmological processes, and anything else that falls within the cyclical and “inevitable rhythm of nature.” There is no sense of “future planning” or “looking ahead” in African traditional culture. Rather, since life and time only become real after they have been experienced, the concept of “the future” is largely missing from African thought. For Mbiti, African time has a long past, an immediate present, and absolutely no future.

The differences between African time and Western time carry many significant implications, particularly in the economic and social realms. Mbiti asserts that “the linear concept of time in Western thought, with an indefinite past, present and infinite future, is practically foreign to African thinking (p. 17).” African time is largely two-dimensional and cyclical, while the Western conception of time is three dimensional with an explicit focus on the future. For Mbiti, “the economic life of the people is deeply bound to their concept of time (p. 18).” He further states that “in Western or technological society, time is a commodity which must be utilized, sold, and bought; but in traditional African life, time has to be created or produced. Man is not a slave of time; instead, he ‘makes’ as much time as he wants (p. 19).” According to this line of thinking, the concept of time greatly impacts societal construction, and therefore strongly influences both modernization and development within a society.

After clarifying Mbiti’s contentions, Masolo argues that African religious and spiritual beliefs are not the primary factor in the construction of African time. He argues that Christian eschatology has contributed significantly to African time. Furthermore, Masolo contends that functionality plays a large role in the formation of temporal conceptions. Physical needs and lifestyle factors are primary elements shaping a society’s

understanding of time. The traditional lifestyle of most African societies has therefore led to a completely different conception of time than the technological societies of many Western nations.

Ayoade, John A. A. "Time in Yoruba Thought" in *African Philosophy: An Introduction*. Ed. Richard A. Wright. Washington: University Press of America. 1977.

In his book chapter entitled "Time in Yoruba Thought," John Ayoade details his sociological study of an African cultural group located in the nations of Nigeria, Dahomey, and Togo. In an effort to define Yoruban time, Ayoade begins by explicating the Western conception of time and defining the differences between the two conceptions. He traces the Western philosophy of time to St. Augustine and Aristotle, who believed that time is able to be broken into its composite parts, and therefore divided and objectified. Isaac Newton introduced the idea of precise and mathematical time as an entity completely external to human experience.

The composite ideas of African time, on the other hand, are not traceable to individuals, but are communal philosophies that serve to socialize people and shape communities. According to Ayoade, the Yorubans have two separate indications of time, human indicators and environmental indicators, which parallel Evans-Pritchard's conception of ecological and structural time in Nuer societies. **Time according to human indicators** is based upon anthropocentric indicators, such as the heartbeat and physical maturation rates. While this conception of time is linear, as there is a defined progression from the beginning to and the end of earthly life, it is both relative and inexact. **Time based on environmental indicators** is bifurcated into two categories: time

based on “the celestial-cosmic cycle,” and time based on “the terrestrial-ecological cycle (p. 92).” The celestial-cosmic cycle of environmentally-indicated time focuses mainly upon the daily cycle of the sun and the periodic cycling of the moon. Terrestrial-ecological time focuses on actions and movements of living things (e.g. the rooster crowing each morning, or the time it takes for the “twinkling of the eye of a crab”), and on the cycling of seasons.

Similar to Masolo’s argument, both general versions of time expounded by Ayoade are based on convenience, societal functioning and needs, and life-style factors. While the two general conceptions are, in many ways, separate and utilized differently for certain aspects of African life, both time based on human indicators and time based on environmental indicators converge to provide a temporal framework for life and culture within a society.

Fabian, Johannes. *“Time and the Other.”* New York, New York: Columbia University Press. 1983.

In “Time and the Other,” anthropologist Johannes Fabian seeks to understand the different ways that anthropologists have sought to distance themselves from their “object of anthropological inquiry.” To do so, he creates terms for three different types of anthropological time: physical time, mundane time, and typological time. Physical time, akin to the category of time explicated above, is non-cultural time as it occurs directly in nature. Mundane time is the consideration of time in eras or blocks, such as a ‘particular age’ or ‘stage’ of human history. Finally, typological time is the viewing of time is to

give a 'type' to a society's understanding of time. These types usually come in pairs, such as modern/tradition and, as will be explored in this study, linear and cyclical.

For the purposes of this study, Fabian's work explicates the different uses of time by anthropologists and can be used to show that this study focuses mainly on 'typological time' when it utilizes the anthropology literature. In other words, Fabian's work explicates the type of anthropological time that this study endeavors to explore, but generally, his work will not figure prominently in this study.

Chapter 4 – The Role of Time: An Investigation of Cultural Conceptions of Time

Introduction: Does Time Matter?

Expanding upon the information on conceptions of time presented in the literature review, this chapter will explore in further detail the differences in societal conceptions of time, the origins of these differences, and the various impacts that these conceptions of time have on lifestyle and values within a society. The major premises of this chapter are: that cultures do conceive of time differently; that these understandings are not altogether static, but are dynamic and open to change; and that there exists a circular relationship between concepts of time and lifestyle, as lifestyle is both derived from and dictates to a society's understanding of time. Furthermore, this chapter will investigate many of the important tenets of conceptions of time. In the process, it will lay the theoretical groundwork for understanding how modernization impacts the effective practice of leadership in different types of societies.

Before beginning this exploration, however, the question must be asked: why does an understanding of time matter within a society? The answer: the way that a society conceptualizes time influences how individuals within that society understand their lives and make their decisions.

⁸⁴ It affects how societies organize themselves and utilize their resources. It impacts both individual and communal motivations, lifestyle, and outlook.⁸⁵

In general, time is both cultural⁸⁶ and social.⁸⁷ According to Durkheim, it is “a collective representation of social experiences in nature” that is deeply rooted in a

⁸⁴ Mbiti, John S. *African Religions and Philosophy*. New York: Praeger. 1969. p. 19., Durkheim, Emile. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, a Study in Religious Sociology*.

⁸⁵ Durkheim, Emile. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, a Study in Religious Sociology*.

society's culture and values. Time is both derived from and dictates to culture and societal values.⁸⁸ In this way, culture helps to create a society's concept of time, and that concept of time, in turn, works to modify that society's culture. This integral interrelationship is perhaps best explained by philosopher John S. Mbiti, who argues that "the concept of time may help to explain beliefs, attitudes, practices and general way of life."⁸⁹ Mbiti further argues that the religious life and "the economic life of the people" are "deeply bound to their concept of time."⁹⁰ and that understanding a society's conception of time is integral to understanding its religion and philosophy.⁹¹ On the importance of time within communities, philosopher Maurice Bloch goes so far as to argue that if there was not at least some semblance of commonality in the understanding of time between two individuals or two societies, they (the individuals or the societies) would be wholly unable to communicate together.⁹²

In sum, a society's conception of time impacts that society profoundly at the individual, communal, and inter-communal levels. Studying how peoples conceive of time is crucial to understanding their societies and, as will be shown throughout the remaining sections of this study, has many implications for the practice of effective leadership.

The Creation of Time as a Concept

⁸⁶ Greenhouse, Carol J. *"A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures."*

⁸⁷ Durkheim, Emile. *"The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, a Study in Religious Sociology."*

⁸⁸ Gell, Alfred. *"The Anthropology of Time."* USA: Edwards Brothers, Inc. 1992. p. 4.

⁸⁹ Mbiti, John S. *"African Religions and Philosophy."* New York: Praeger. 1969. p. 19.

⁹⁰ Mbiti, John S. *"African Religions and Philosophy."*

⁹¹ Mbiti, John S. *"African Religions and Philosophy."* P. 16.

⁹² Bloch, Maurice. "Astrology and writing in Madagascar." In *"Literacy in Traditional Societies."* Jack Goody, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1968.

Since the onset of time study, philosophers and thinkers have struggled to create classifications that effectively categorize the several major conceptions of time that exist in various parts of the world. Some philosophers argue that the “East” and the “West” have long conceptualized time very disparately, largely because of the vastly different lifestyles and worldviews displayed by these two macro-cultures.⁹³ Others believe that the categorization should be drawn between modern and pre-modern societies.⁹⁴ A third way of categorizing is based on lifestyle factors. It asserts that societies that display one syndrome of lifestyle factors will be more likely to conceptualize time differently than those with a differing syndrome of factors.

All three types of classification are valuable and will be explored below.

Ultimately, categorizing societies based upon their lifestyle factors is the primary methodology for this study’s inquiry into time conceptions, but since all three categories overlap to a great extent, they will all be influential in this study. For simplicity and clarity, because the last chapter focused heavily on the terms “traditional,” “modern,” and “post-modern,” we will use the term “Western” to designate the modern and post-modern societies, mostly in the Western hemisphere, that generally share a similar conception of time. The term “Non-Western” will be used to refer both to societies of the pre-modern, traditional societies, specifically those in Africa, that also share a similar conception of time. While these are wide-ranging generalizations, they serve the purpose of this study, which is to analyze the differences between alternate conceptions of time.

⁹³ Greenhouse, Carol J. “A Moment’s Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures.” New York: Cornell University. 1996.

⁹⁴ Sogolo, Godwin. “*Foundations of African Philosophy*.” USA: Ibadan University Press. 1993.

“Western” Time

Let us first look to the West. Due to its predominantly written history,⁹⁵ important developments in the study and understanding of time in the Western world are easily identifiable and traceable. Historically, Western thought “gives eternity to God and time to human society.”⁹⁶ As a result, Westerners have long believed that time can be both divided and controlled. Aristotle was the first to create a mechanistic definition of time, viewing time as an entity with three interlocking parts: the past, the present, and the future. Both he and St. Augustine determined that ‘the present’ is ‘an irreducible minimum unit of time that lacks duration,’ and therefore only the past and the future can be measured.⁹⁷ As simplistic as this theory may seem, it has served as the foundation upon which Western time has been constructed.

This Aristotelian conception generally lasted until Sir Isaac Newton expanded upon it in the seventeenth century by introducing the concepts of ‘absolute time’ and ‘relative time.’ **Absolute time** is the true, unconditional, mathematical time that exists externally of both human perceptions and of material objects. It is a perpetual entity that progresses at a constant rate. **Relative time**, on the other hand, is time as it is experienced by humans.⁹⁸ It is therefore based on ‘absolute time’ but is conditioned by a variety of social and personal factors. In other words, relative time is the human conceptualization

⁹⁵ Ayoade, John A. A. “Time in Yoruba Thought” in *African Philosophy: An Introduction*. Ed. Richard A. Wright. Washington: University Press of America. 1977. p. 85.

⁹⁶ Greenhouse, Carol J. “*A Moment’s Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures*.” P. 19.

⁹⁷ Ayoade, John A. A. “Time in Yoruba Thought” in *African Philosophy: An Introduction*.; Weber, Max. “*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.”

⁹⁸ Ayoade, John A. A. “Time in Yoruba Thought” in *African Philosophy: An Introduction*. P. 87.

and functionalization of absolute time. While absolute time is unwavering and fixed, relative time is functional by its very nature. This initial bifurcation—between time as an absolute entity and time as a relative construction—has profoundly influenced Western thought since its inception. It enables ‘absolute time’ to pass at a defined rate, regardless of occurrences or perceptions. ‘Relative time,’ on the other hand, allows humans to divide, measure, and categorize time in ways that fit their particular needs or desires.

In “*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, a Study in Religious Sociology*,” the seminal work in modern conceptual time scholarship, Emile Durkheim built on Newton’s previous theoretical work to create three different classifications of time: the category of time, “social time,” and individual time.⁹⁹ The **category of time** “is like an endless chart, where all duration is spread out before the mind, and upon which all possible events can be located.”¹⁰⁰ Very similar to Newton’s ‘absolute time,’ there is an objective, real time that exists independent of human thought and experience. “**Social time**,” a term first coined by Durkheim in 1915, refers to the cultural construction of time that societies create. Like ‘relative time,’ ‘social time’ is born out of collective experience and is used to organize a society. Durkheim contends that social time is created by observing and giving meaning to consistent external indicators. For instance, star and moon patterns—one form of an external indicator—are assigned meaning by a society, and may then become the basis for that society’s conception of ‘social time.’ Symbols and beliefs can also have a profound impact on a society’s conception of “social time.” Regardless of how it is conceptualized, “social time” is a society’s collective, functional understanding of time. Finally, **individual time** is a person’s own temporal orientation; their personal

⁹⁹ Durkheim, Emile. “*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, a Study in Religious Sociology*.” Glencoe, IL: Free Press. 1968.

¹⁰⁰ Durkheim, Emile. “*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, a Study in Religious Sociology*.”

awareness of time. Individual time is impacted by many societal and personal factors. Although individual time is unique to each person, it is conditioned by both the category of time and the society's perception of social time. In sum, according to Durkheim: the category of time is the universal constant, "social time" is a society's collective understanding of that constant, and individual time is an individual's personal conception of social time.¹⁰¹ A plethora of factors, which will be explored below, condition both "social time" and individual time.

These three categories of time have basically created the foundation of Western understandings of time and—although they are generally accepted within the literature—have been the topic of widespread controversy among different thinkers. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz believes that "individual time" is the predominant conception among people.¹⁰² According to him, time is completely relative, with each person holding their own "permutation" of what time actually means. While societies can be placed into rough categories, everyone has their own individual understandings. Other scholars, such as Maurice Bloch, believe that social time is most important, as it provides a fundamental framework for the creation of a society.¹⁰³ Ultimately, even if Geertz's assertions that each individual within a society has their own specific conceptions of time are technically true, the general study of time has shown that these conceptions are sufficiently similar to support the 'Blochian' argument that a general 'social time' does exist, and it is therefore a functional concept that is coherent at the societal level.

¹⁰¹ Gell, Alfred. *"The Anthropology of Time."*

¹⁰² Geertz, Clifford. *"The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays."* New York: Basic Books. 1973.

¹⁰³ Bloch, Maurice. "Astrology and writing in Madagascar." In *"Literacy in Traditional Societies."* Jack Goody, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1968.

“Non-Western” Time

Looking to other parts of the world, traditionally “Non-Western” conceptions of time are much less formal and considerably more varied than their “Western” counterparts. “Non-Western” societies have had a primarily oral tradition, in which learning and history have been passed down among generations predominantly through oral means. This stands in stark contrast to the prevalence of writing and documentation in most “Western” cultures. Furthermore, with some notable exceptions, Non-Western ideas are often attributed to groups or tribes, rather than to individuals. Together, their oral tradition and the prevalence of communally-based recognition have inhibited the historical recording and the widespread dissemination of any single conception of time.¹⁰⁴ As a result, the vast diversity of thought and culture within Non-Western societies has resulted in a wide variation in the conceptions of time held within Non-Western societies.

It is easier to give a negative definition of Non-Western time by describing how it differs from Western time than it is to give a complex definition, which would be unrepresentative and ultimately unsatisfactory. The ideas of a supreme external authority and of giving “eternity to God” are largely absent from far Non-Western culture. They are prevalent in many African tribes, but manifest themselves in a drastically different way than do “Western” God(s). Historically, Non-Westerners tend to be experientially-oriented, and scarcely rely on theoretical knowledge. Living, “being,” and experiencing are emphasized greatly. Finally, Non-Western lifestyle generally tends to espouse “Traditional values” and communal orientations to a greater extent than do Western

¹⁰⁴ Ayoade, John A. A. “Time in Yoruba Thought” in *African Philosophy: An Introduction*. P. 90.

societies.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, the idea of an external, intangible time, without which there can be no bifurcation between ‘absolute time’ and ‘relative time,’ has not taken root in Non-Western thought. Without this bifurcation between “the category of time” and time as humans experience it, “Non-Western” societies have historically understood time solely through the events that they experience directly. As a result, the conceptions of time within many Non-Western societies are tied to natural occurrences, such as seasonal changes, lunar patterns, or animal behaviors.¹⁰⁶

A study by E.E. Evans-Pritchard, a Western-trained sociologist, of the Nuer tribe in Central Africa illustrates one of the conceptualizations of time displayed in Non-Western societies.¹⁰⁷ Pritchard created the categories of “ecological time” and “structural time” as a way of distinguishing between competing conceptions of time within this slowly-modernizing tribe. “Ecological time” is a measure of time based largely upon repeated natural occurrences. For example, the changing of the seasons was an important temporal mechanism because farming and herding are dependent upon predicting and understanding these climatic changes. “Structural time,” as explicated by Pritchard, deals with familial lineage, history, customs, and day-to-day activities pertaining to the group or tribe. He details that “time concepts of this kind...must have a like meaning for every one within a group.”¹⁰⁸ Structural time is used to delineate the temporal distance between events, by utilizing terms and points of reference that are familiar to the entire society. Births, deaths, unique or remarkable occurrence, and other memorable events are often

¹⁰⁵ Coetzee, P.H. “The African Philosophy Reader.” New York: Routledge Press. 1998.

¹⁰⁶ Ayode, John A. A. “Time in Yoruba Thought” in *African Philosophy: An Introduction*.

¹⁰⁷ Evans-Pritchard, E. E. “The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People.” New York: Oxford Press. 1940.

¹⁰⁸ Evans-Pritchard, E. E. “*The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People.*”

used as markers. In short, ecological time utilizes natural patterns to gauge and govern many processes that are fundamental to basic communities. Structural time, on the other hand, uses anthropocentric events to facilitate interpersonal communal functions.¹⁰⁹

Researcher John Ayoade made many similar observations when working with the Yoruba tribe in West Africa.¹¹⁰ Ayoade asserted that the Yoruba had two main concepts of time: ‘time measured by environmental indicators’ which closely resembles Pritchard’s environmental time and ‘time measured by human indicators’ which corresponded to Pritchard’s structural time. The similarities in the conclusions of these two researchers suggest that groups with similar lifestyles and compositions may have closely related conceptualizations of time. To be clear, however, these similarities do not suggest a unified conception of time throughout all “Non-Western” societies.

As is evident from the descriptions above, “Non-Western” conceptions of time are more fragmented than most “Western” conceptions. “Non-Western” societies tend to share the general principles that time is understood primarily through direct experience and that it serves some expressly functional capacity. There is no dividing or categorizing of time, which further links understanding with direct experience. It promotes the personalization or tribalization of time, as these are the primary markers through which time is understood. On the other hand, these conceptions often prevent long-term planning for the future, but do promote clear and sustained understandings of the past (Mbiti). The implications of these understandings will be explored below.

¹⁰⁹ Gell, Alfred. “*The Anthropology of Time*.”

¹¹⁰ Ayoade, John A. A. “Time in Yoruba Thought” in *African Philosophy: An Introduction*. P. 90.

Creating a Broader Framework

There have been a multitude of attempts by scholars to create some type of framework to account for these broad differences between “Western” and “Non-Western” time. In the end, they have created a general dichotomy between two very different conceptions of time: linear and cyclical. These categories correspond closely to our above exploration of “Western” and “Eastern” time. Linear time is the primary conception of time throughout much of the “West” and in modern and post-modern societies. Cyclical time, on the other hand, is prevalent throughout traditional, pre-modern societies, particularly in the “Non-West.” The change in name signifies a different type of analysis: ‘linear’ and ‘cyclical’ time are not primarily based upon global location, but are predominantly shaped by lifestyle factors and the general functioning of a society.

As we go forward with our inquiry, it is important to note that linear and cyclical time—which have gained wide acceptance throughout the field of time study—are predominantly “Western” constructions.

While the terms ‘linear’ and ‘cyclical’ do not capture the specific details of societal conceptions of time with substantial precision, they do provide two broad categories that are quite helpful in understanding the larger picture of time and how it impacts a society. Before exploring the differences between linear and cyclical time, it is important to explicate the generally-accepted assumptions within the field—and to warn that the field of scholarship used for this study is influenced strongly by the Western

temporal paradigm. In general, time is both cultural¹¹¹ and social.¹¹² According to Durkheim, it is “a collective representation of social experiences in nature.” In other words, a society’s conception of time is deeply rooted in that’s society’s culture and values. As stated above, the relationship between conceptions of time and a society’s values is circular, however. Time is both derived from and dictates to culture and societal values.¹¹³ In this way, culture helps to create a society’s concept of time, and that concept of time, in turn, works to modify that society’s culture.

Linear Time

The term ‘linear time’ describes the concept of time in which there is “an irreversible progression of moments, yielding ordinal conceptions of past, present, and future as well as duration.”¹¹⁴ In short, linear time professes that time extends at a uniform rate between two points—whether the line extends from Creation to Judgment, or from fuzzy ideas of the beginning and the end of time is largely inconsequential to the daily functioning of linear time. While ‘absolute time’ progresses completely independent of human activity, linear time is subject to cultural conditioning. Each society may have a slightly varied functional understanding of how to operationalize linear time, but ultimately all societies subscribing to linear time conceptualize time according to an overarching belief that time ‘passes’ linearly in a unidirectional succession.

¹¹¹ Greenhouse, Carol J. “*A Moment’s Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures.*”

¹¹² Durkheim, Emile. “*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, a Study in Religious Sociology.*”

¹¹³ Gell, Alfred. “*The Anthropology of Time.*” USA: Edwards Brothers, Inc. 1992. p. 4.

¹¹⁴ Greenhouse, Carol J. “*A Moment’s Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures.*” P. 20.

In practice, conceptions of linear time allow for members of a society to take ownership of time. They can divide it and segment it. It can be, at least in practice, manipulated to a certain extent. Whereas absolute time will still 'pass' at its constant rate, humans can exert some influence or control of this conception of linear time. According to Carol Greenhouse, "linear time is time with a purpose, a time-for-the-sake-of-God, -state, -shop, -self, among other possibilities."¹¹⁵ It creates the calendar-effect, where people understand that they can be only in one place at any given time and have a fairly clear understanding of both deadlines and possibilities. Altogether, it enables a proportional perspective of the past, an ability to understand and plan for the future, and a capacity to comprehend how the present 'fits' into both the past and the future: the past shapes the present, and the present shapes the future. Linear time allows for the idea of advancement of human culture, representing "all human activity as a depletion of a non-renewable and finite store of time"¹¹⁶ and suggesting that the past cannot be changed, but that we can prepare for the future.

Cyclical Time

Similar to the concepts of "ecological time" and "time by environmental indicators," cyclical time is primarily "taken to be anchored in direct observation of nature."¹¹⁷ It is invariably connected to experience and observation, and is primarily focused upon "the classifications that make up the world" and "their logical relationships

¹¹⁵ Greenhouse, Carol J. *"A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures."* P. 22.

¹¹⁶ Greenhouse, Carol J. *"A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures."* P. 22.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, P. 33.

as a closed system.”¹¹⁸ The cycles of life and of nature provide the primary foundation for this conception of time.¹¹⁹ Moon cycles, seasonal changes, animal movements, religious practices and beliefs (particularly those that recur over time periods), and birth and maturation cycles also often play integral roles in the formation of cyclical time conceptions within a society.¹²⁰ In general, the concept of cyclical time does not view time functionally as a wide-ranging progression between two points, but views it internally a series of repeated cycles that define our lives.

According to philosopher John Mbiti, this conception of time often promotes a “two-dimensional phenomena, with a long *past*, a *present*, and virtually *no future*.”¹²¹ In other words, in some societies operating with cyclical temporal principles, the present is dominated by familial lineages, customs, and traditions of the past. The future other than the immediately discernable time ahead, on the other hand, is outside of the realm of cognition. Long-term planning is largely absent from society, as decisions about the future are often made by looking to the past.

A Comparison

As their names suggest, the principles underlying cyclical time and linear time are in many ways opposite. As a result, the functionality of a cyclical concept of time is very different from that of linear time. The following section will begin exploring several of

¹¹⁸ Ibid, P. 30.

¹¹⁹ Masolo, D. A. “*African Philosophy In Search of Identity*.” Bloomington, Indiana: University of Indiana Press. 1994. p. 109.

¹²⁰ Mbiti, John S. “*African Religions and Philosophy*.”; Greenhouse, Carol J. “*A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures*.”; Masolo, D. A. “*African Philosophy In Search of Identity*.”

¹²¹ Mbiti, John S. “*African Religions and Philosophy*.” P. 17.

these differences, particularly those that impact the general mindset of the people living in linearly-oriented and cyclically-oriented societies.

Two very different worldviews

An important set of ideas for understanding the differences between these two conceptions of time can be found through a modified application of Newton's ideas. As Newton stated, within societies that have a linear conception of time, it is generally accepted that there is a universal time that progresses at a constant rate, unchanged by human experience. There also exists a 'social time,' which provides a functional understanding of time for communities. According to Greenhouse, "within societies, social time links concrete individuals to the social whole, giving societies a means of reproducing themselves over time as entities."¹²² This conception of social time exists at the societal level, where the entire society shares one general understanding of time. Within societies with a cyclical understanding of time, however, there is no such split between absolute and social time, since time exists as a single experienced entity. Time is not objective; it is wholly subjective. It is not seen as external, and therefore cannot be controlled like 'linear time.' It is inextricably intertwined with the people's lives, and therefore becomes an integral and constant part of our lives and of who we are.

Fundamentally, linear time is future-oriented, while cyclical time is focused primarily on the past. This essential distinction weighs heavily on the decision-making process for these two different types of cultures. Ideas of delayed gratification, long-term planning, and goal-orientation have become integral to the functioning of linear societies. These same concepts are seldom emphasized in cyclical societies, which are focused

¹²² Greenhouse, Carol J. "A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures." P. 3.

more on honoring past traditions and living very much in the present, and often living for the past. This distinction provides a very different decision-making framework for these two types of cultures, as it drastically changes desired outcomes, personal motivations, and the framing of both the questions to be answered and the potential solutions. In general, forward, linear thinking tends to promote innovation and advancement, while cyclical thinking emphasizes ritual and culture.¹²³

What determines a society's conception of time?

The next logical question is: what causes these differences? According to Greenhouse, "time articulates people's understanding of agency: literally, what makes things happen and what makes acts relevant in relation to social experience, however conceived."¹²⁴ In other words, functional considerations and the overarching needs and lifestyle factors of a society determine whether a society creates a cyclical or a linear conception of time.

Since a society's agency often is the primary cause for its conception of time, we can deduce general societal factors that tend to lead a society towards creating either a cyclical or a linear conception of time. Predominantly agrarian, communal- or tribal-based societies are primarily concerned with cosmological and weather cycles, as knowledge of these cycles is vital for agriculture, and therefore for subsistence. Furthermore, since many of these societies place much emphasis on ritual, culture, and ancestry, understanding and honoring the past is given more importance than is planning for the future. As a result, according to Greenhouse's assertion that time is created for

¹²³ Greenhouse, Carol J. *"A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures."*

¹²⁴ Greenhouse, Carol J. *"A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures."* P. 1.

functional purposes, these foci lead to a society with an understanding of time as having a “long past,” an immediate present, and basically no future, as asserted by Mbiti¹²⁵.

Linear time, on the other hand, is usually a product of a forward-looking, diverse society, in which no set of natural cycles is sufficient for organizing that society. Greenhouse argues that linear time’s “primary efficacy is in the construction and management of dominant social institutions” and that “the meanings of linear time are inseparable from its cultural history of use.”¹²⁶ Therefore, in these societies, time is seen as a tool to be used to bring order to our lives and to societies. These societies tend to be knowledge- and progress-oriented, emphasizing development, the accumulation and synthesis of knowledge, and future planning.

Conclusions

The above chapter sought to explore the importance of cultural conceptions of time within societies and to investigate the several major approaches taken by scholars to explain cultural conceptions of time: global location, level of development, and lifestyle factors. Ultimately, this chapter concluded that there are two main categories of time, linear and cyclical, which impact societies in very profound, different ways. While a society’s conception of time is associated with all three of the aforementioned approaches, it is the lifestyle factors—specifically the functioning and ‘agency’ of a society—that primarily determine whether a society develops a linear or a cyclical conception of time.

¹²⁵ Mbiti, John S. “*African Religions and Philosophy*.”

¹²⁶ Greenhouse, Carol J. “*A Moment’s Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures*.” P. 23.

The following chapter will analyze the intersections between conceptions of time and cultural values. More specifically, it will compare the two concepts of time with the three main sets of societal values and argue that the process of modernization is the primary catalyst for change in both societal conceptions of time and societal values.

Chapter 5 - Making the Connection: Exploring Modernization, Values, and Time

Building off of all the information presented thus far, this chapter will provide the nexus of many of the concepts that have been explored, and will incorporate several new lines of research to help make sense of these intersections. From these intersections will emerge a model that explains the relationship between modernization, conceptions of time, and cultural values. This model will illustrate the important link between societal conceptions of time and cultural values to argue for the existence of ‘Traditional/Cyclical’ societies and ‘Materialist/Linear’ societies. The primary motivation ethics of these two type of societies—‘individual motivation’ and ‘group motivation,’ respectively—will then be explored, leading to the ultimate insight of this chapter: based upon all of the information presented in this study, I propose the creation of an ‘ethic of being’ and an ‘ethic of doing’ to describe and categorize different types of societies. The concluding chapters will further explore these two ethics and show the many lifestyle and leadership implications that this categorization reveals.

Agency: the Primary Function

At their root, the differences between cyclical and linear conceptions of time and those between Traditional, Materialist, and Post-materialist values are primarily determined by the same factor: a society's overarching purpose or function.¹²⁷ As described at the end of the previous chapter, a society's general functioning or agency is the primary catalyst for that society to develop either a cyclical or linear conception of time. Societies with cyclical conceptions of time are primarily agrarian, subsistence societies that base their conception of time on the Earth's weather and cosmological cycles. Linear conceptions of time, on the other hand, are developed in societies that are more diverse and progress-oriented, and therefore need an understanding of time that has wider applicability and allowed for future planning.

The general purpose of a society—or, its 'agency' as described above—is also a primary factor in determining whether a society displays Traditional, Materialist, or Post-materialist values. Traditional values emphasize “community development, cooperation, and communalism,”¹²⁸ and are predominantly found in societies that find “validations of current behavior stemming from immemorial prescriptive norms.”¹²⁹ As noted earlier, these Traditional subsistence societies tend to be pre-modern, to focus predominantly on culture and communalism, and are often skeptical of both rapid change and science.

When the general aim of a society begins to change, so does its set of values. As a society becomes increasingly progress-oriented and individuals within the group begin to have greater independence, Traditional values are often replaced by Materialist values. Personal survival and physical security become the society's overarching concerns.

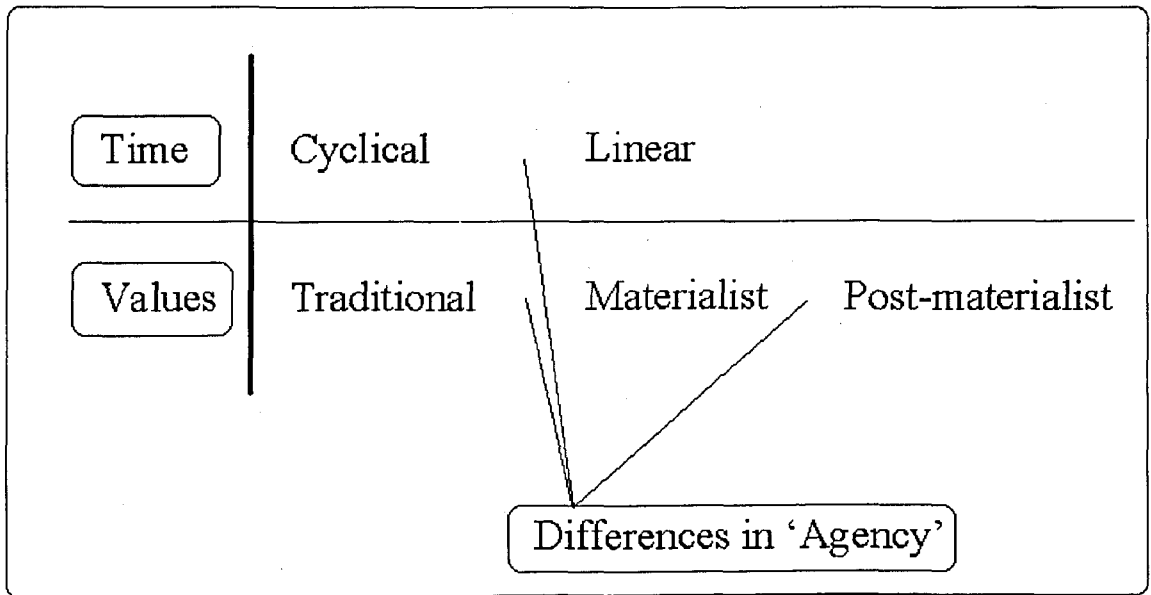
¹²⁷ See graph at the bottom of this section.

¹²⁸ Apter, David. “*The Role of Traditionalism in the Political Modernization of Ghana and Uganda.*”

¹²⁹ Ibid.

Educational attainment, economic accumulation, and achievement motivation gain further emphasis. Individual rational thinking becomes a societal norm, and individual and family well-being is given primary importance. Finally, as increased development enhances physical security to the point that individual survival is no longer the most pressing need for the members of a society, Materialist values begin to be replaced by Post-materialist values. With this altered focus, communal-orientation, aesthetic values, and well-being needs gain much greater emphasis throughout the society.

The following chart is the first in a series of charts aimed at clarifying the relationships between cultural values and cultural values of time. The arrows show that a difference in 'agency' leads to differences in both conceptions of time and cultural values.



Changing Time and Changing Values

Both societal conceptions of time and societal values structures are based primarily on the general 'agency' of a society. It follows that changes in a society's

agency often necessitate a transformation in that society's conception of time and values structure. To begin with conceptions of time, Greenhouse explains that conceptions of time change as "new forms of diversity" become important and prevalent to the life and dealings of society members.¹³⁰ Greenhouse's explanation of 'agency' coupled with the several examples she gives of societal time shifts show that fundamental changes in the functioning of cyclical societies often result in incremental shifts towards a linear conception of time. In short, once a society has changed to the point where its conception of time is no longer functional and applicable throughout an increasingly diverse society, the society is forced to slowly abandon the obsolete conception of time. More specifically, as cyclically-oriented societies become increasingly complex and progress-oriented, these "new forms of diversity" transform the 'agency' of that society, making a change in their understanding of time necessary to accommodate these differences. As a result, many cyclically-oriented societies are beginning to shift towards a more linear temporal orientation.¹³¹

How does this shift happen? As societies modernize, this shift is made possible through the creation of a Durkheimian or Newtonian bifurcation between actual time and social time. Cyclical time is based solely upon 'consistent external indicators.'¹³² As a result, humans do not have any control over time; it simply happens. The evolving society must find a way to make time more consistent, precise, and 'controllable.' To do so, they create a bifurcation that entails formulating a sense of "social time" that meets these goals, while keeping some factors of cyclical time. 'External indicators' such as

¹³⁰ Greenhouse, Carol J. *"A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures."* P. 14.

¹³¹ Greenhouse, Carol J. *"A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures."* P. 14

¹³² Durkheim, Emile. *"The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, a Study in Religious Sociology."* Glencoe, IL: Free Press. 1968. Greenhouse, Carol J. *"A Moment's Notice: Time Politics Across Cultures."* P. 14.

days, seasons, and years as a cycle around the sun, remain important within societies with linear conceptions of time, but they must establish a second, expressly linear measurement of time that enables the precision necessary for a newly diverse society to function properly. The result often is very similar to the construction of linear time: a measurement of time that includes external factors—using the earth’s rotation around the sun as a year, the earth’s revolution rate as a day, etc.—but adds precision and exactitude by standardizing measurements for seconds, minutes, hours, days, etc. As will be explained below, the creation of “social time” and the shift towards a linear temporal orientation carry many implications for societal organization, productivity, general lifestyle factors within a society, and leadership.

Societal value structures tend to progress through the Development Continuum in much the same way: as a response to prevalent societal changes. Traditional values are held in societies that function primarily to honor ancestry and tradition, while focusing on community and subsistence. As the focus of the society shifts towards individual well-being, individual motivation, rational thought, and economic security become overarching societal concerns, causing the society to shift towards Materialist values. Finally, once survival and well-being are assured, the society’s focus shifts towards quality-of-life issues and back towards communal thinking. As this happens, the societies take on a Post-materialist values structure.

Development and Modernization as a Catalyst for Societal Change

As stated above, both concepts of time and cultural values are formulated based upon a society’s agency or general purpose. As the society’s agency changes, this often

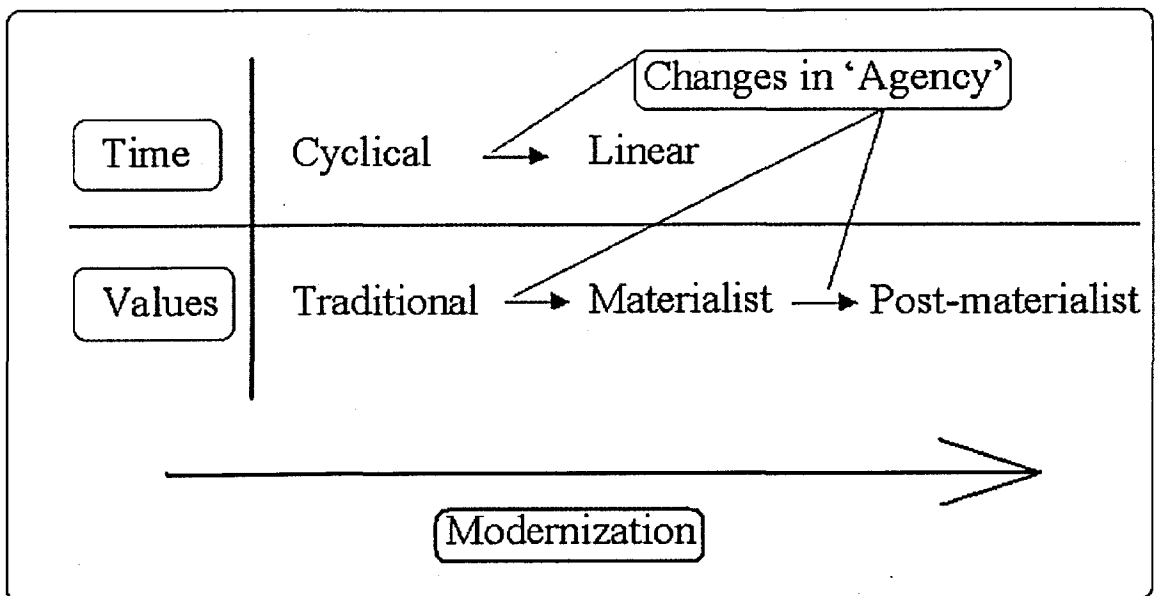
necessitates a shift in that society's values and understanding of time. As asserted by Greenhouse, these changes are a reaction to "new forms of diversity" within a society. The process of modernization brings about these "new forms of diversity" and therefore serves as a catalyst for shifts in cultural values and cultural conceptions of time. As will be shown below, the relationship between agency and both concepts of time and cultural values is circular: the society's agency creates both its concept of time and the cultural values that it espouses; these values or concepts of time then tend to reinforce that society's agency. Only through profound societal changes, such as those undergone through the process of modernization, does the agency change, thereby shifting cultural values and cultural conceptions of time.

Cyclical societies, which emphasize tradition and the past, are oriented predominantly towards culture, subsistence, and their ancestry. As a result, these societies often emphasize history, tradition, and the status quo, and have a generally negative disposition towards development and modernization. Societies that formulate linear conceptions of time, however, are generally future-oriented. This orientation often leads these societies to place a greater emphasis on progress, achievement, and ultimately, on development and modernizing. It is important to note that while a society's conceptions of time are created by that society's functionality or 'agency,' once developed, a society's conception of time reinforces that type of a lifestyle amongst its members.

So, exactly what "new types of diversity" necessitate these changes? As shown in the chapter on Modernization theory and in the brief explanation above on evolving temporal orientations within societies, the process of modernization is a catalyst for changes both in values structures and in temporal orientations within a society. Just as

neo-Modernization theory and Ronald Inglehart's work with the World Values Surveys show that the process of modernization facilitates a values shift from Traditional to Materialist to Post-materialist value structures, the process of modernization similarly promotes a shift in temporal orientations from cyclical to linear by altering the function or agency of a society. The process of modernization and the changes in values and lifestyle that are associated with it provide the "new forms of diversity" needed to render the cyclical conceptions of time incomplete within a society, and therefore obsolete. As a result, those societies begin incrementally developing a more linear conception of time.

Once again, as explicated in each of the two previous chapters, these relationships are not unidirectional. Modernization promotes changes in cultural values, which then impacts a society's disposition towards and rate of modernization. Similarly, modernization can promote a change in temporal orientation within a society. This change then also impacts that society's view and rate of modernization. The graph below does not show this reflexive relationship, but does generally illustrate the impact that modernization has both on societal conceptions of time and societal value structures.



Primary Motivation Within a Society

A society's most fundamental motivation is a key determinant of that society's disposition towards modernization, and is very influential in shaping both cultural values and cultural conceptions of time. This fundamental motivation is different from its agency in that agency is a measure of the actual functioning of a society, while motivation is a measure of the underlying reason(s) or factor(s) that drive that society's functioning. In more simplistic terms, agency is what a society does, motivation is why they do it. Thus far throughout this study, these key underlying motivations have been labeled as "The Protestant Work Ethic" by Max Weber¹³³, "The Achieving Society" by David McClelland¹³⁴, and "Achievement Motivation" by Ronald Inglehart.¹³⁵ In this section, I will add two more fundamental motivations to this list, 'group motivation' and 'independent motivation', and then show how they relate to modernization, to cultural values, and to cultural conceptions of time.

Drawing a Parallel

While a society's conception of time cannot properly be labeled a 'value' and therefore should not be aggregated with the value sets explicated earlier, the close relationships between cyclical time and Traditional values and between linear time and Materialist values is difficult to overlook. Cyclical time and Traditional values—both

¹³³ Weber, Max. *"The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism."* Stephen Kalberg, Translator. Chicago, IL: 2001.

¹³⁴ McClelland, David C. *"The Achieving Society."* D. Van Nostrand Company, LTD. New York: 1961.

¹³⁵ Inglehart, Ronald. *"Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies."* USA: Princeton University Press. 1997. Inglehart, Ronald. *"Modernization and Postmodernization."*

prevalent within pre-modern societies—focus primarily on strengthening cultural and ancestral heritage, and are overwhelmingly communally-oriented. Linear time and Materialist values—occurring predominantly in more modern societies—emphasize progress, achievement, and development. They are propelled by a drive for survival, advancement, and individual rationality in a diverse society (See chart at the end of this section).

As was explored above in the chapter on Modernization theory, these different underlying motivations, between communally promoting culture in ‘Traditional/Cyclical societies’ and individually advancing one’s own survival and well-being interests in ‘Materialist/Linear societies,’ carry very important societal and leadership implications. These two primary orientations—‘group motivation’, also called cultural motivation, and ‘individual motivation’—must be explored further. Generally speaking, individuals or societies that exhibit strong ‘group motivations’ are oriented towards the general well-being of the entire society and the furthering of the society’s values and culture. Individuals and societies that exhibit ‘individual motivations’ are oriented towards individuality, personal well-being, and are much more self-interested¹³⁶. Drawing from the previous sections of this paper, the following table will show some of the main values and characteristics of Traditional, Materialist, Linear, and Cyclical Societies in order to further illustrate the similarities between Linear and Materialist societies and between Cyclical and Traditional societies.

¹³⁶ The above characterizations of an ‘individual ethic’ and a ‘group ethic’ were taken from a conversation with Dr. George R. (Al) Goethals, Atwell Professor of Psychologist at Williams College and visiting scholar to the University of Richmond. Dr. Goethals made special reference to “The Handbook of Social Psychology” by Daniel T. Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske, and Gardner Lindzey. The conversation took place on April 5, 2004.

'Cyclical Time' Societies	'Linear Time' Societies
<p>Values</p> <p>Family lineage Customs Traditions Living in the present, for the past</p> <p>Societal Characteristics</p> <p>Pre-modern Subsistence Simplistic and Singularly focused</p>	<p>Values</p> <p>Personal responsibility Calendar Effect Advancement Future-oriented Planning Goal Orientation</p> <p>Societal Characteristics</p> <p>Modern Diversely focused</p>
Traditional Values Societies	Materialist Values Societies
<p>Values</p> <p>Communal Development Cooperation Communalism Gender Roles Strict Religious Observance Ancestry and Lineage Skeptical of novelty and progress</p> <p>Societal Characteristics</p> <p>Agrarian Subsistence Societies Pre-modern</p>	<p>Values</p> <p>Economic Security Physical Security Emphasis on education Individual economic accumulation Progress and Future planning</p> <p>Societal Characteristics</p> <p>Move towards urbanization and Bureaucratization Modern societies Predominantly Capitalist</p>

The two sections below will explore these two primary motivations, first the 'group motivation' and then the 'individual motivation.'

Group Motivation

“Tribes: How Race, Religion, and Identity Determine Success in the New Global Economy¹³⁷,” by Joel Kotkin, explores the emphasis placed upon culture, community, and groups in ‘Traditional/Cyclical societies.’ Kotkin tracks the prevalence of several global tribes throughout the latter half of the 20th Century, analyzing what has allowed them to be successful in a rapidly changing world. The strength of each of these tribes rested, in part, in a combination of the common origin and the shared values of each of the tribe’s members. Their mutual dependence on the teachings of their cultural backgrounds and traditions allowed them to adapt without losing their sense of unity or identity. In the end, Kotkin concluded that the success of global tribes is dependent upon their commitment to their shared origins and on their strong desire to further their culture and the collective well-being of their tribes—in other words, these tribes were successful due to the strong sense of group motivation among their members.

Kotkin’s work on cultural and ‘group motivation’ helps to explain the strongly-communal values found in Traditional societies, and will perhaps become increasingly important as more societies evolve into having Post-materialist and Post-modern societies. Communally motivated peoples tend to share Traditional values, in that they focus on ancestral relations in their common background, traditions, and culture. Perhaps more intriguing, however, Kotkin’s work shows the importance of group and cultural motivations on global economics, stating that these tribes have been “a critical dynamic element--the historical protagonist--on the world economic stage¹³⁸.” In other words,

¹³⁷ Kotkin, Joel. *Tribes: How Race, Religion, and Identity Determine Success in the New Global Economy*. New York: Random House, 1993

¹³⁸ Kotkin, Joel. *Tribes: How Race, Religion, and Identity Determine Success in the New Global Economy*. p. 17.

despite the traditional nature of the values propounded by the global tribes, they have still been extremely effective and influential on the international economy. This suggests that the cultural and group motivation is not inherently at odds with modernization and globalization. More generally and pertinent to this study, however, is that Kotkin's thesis is that culturally-motivated peoples are apt to have communal and quality-of-life concerns as their primary priority when making decisions.

Individual Motivation

In his book "Freedom Evolves"¹³⁹, Daniel C. Dennett argues that Darwin's theory of evolution—defined broadly to include both physical and cultural modifications—may be utilized to understand human thought, including motivation and ethical thinking based upon individual motivation. Using vivid analogies, meticulous argumentation, a building blocks approach to explaining natural physiological development, and evidence from an assortment of work from his colleagues in the cognitive and natural sciences, Dennett makes a persuasive case for the importance of individual motivation, which can be used to help explain Inglehart's assertion that cultural values change from Traditional to Materialist values, and then into Post-materialist values.

In short, Dennett argues that humans have an inherent drive towards survival and individual self-interest in order to pass on their genes. This individual motivation is a person's most pressing need, and therefore exerts great influence on their decision-making process. Before humans lived in communities, the impact of this motivation was clear—human beings enhanced their chances of survival by acting purely in their own self-interest. Once humans began to form communities and to live along with others, the

¹³⁹ Dennett, Daniel Clement. *Freedom Evolves*. New York: Viking, 2003.

impact of individual motivation upon a person's life became more complex. To explain this complexity, Dennett created the concept of "benselfishness." Inspired by Benjamin Franklin's famous quote "we must indeed all hang together, or, most assuredly, we shall all hang separately," Dennett uses a series of Prisoner's Dilemma variations to argue that through experience humans can calculate that cooperating and working together in many situations ultimately enhances their own self-interest. As a result, the concept of benselfishness utilizes the "farsighted self-interest"—basically farsighted individual motivation—of group members to work towards the common good.¹⁴⁰ He argues that the general success and utility of benselfishness provided the early origins of human ethics by showing that fairness and cooperation are self-serving in the long run, thereby providing an 'individual motivation' framework that governs societal interactions.

With survival and self-interest as primary motivations—as it is in Materialist values—this 'survival of the fittest' mentality promotes individual rational thought once societies have specialized to the point where individuals have unique roles and spheres of influence within a society. In other words, before communities existed, individuals acted completely out of self-interest. In early subsistence communities, however, people cooperated because their mutual goal—survival—was dependent upon the success of the group. Finally, as these communities advanced to the point where each member had specific tasks and roles within a diversely-focused society and survival was no longer a completely communal task, individual rational thought came to the forefront. As a society continues to modernize into a Post-modern stage where it embodies Post-materialist values, survival ceases to be the primary motivation because it is often taken for granted in many developed communities. The result is a more selfless manifestation of

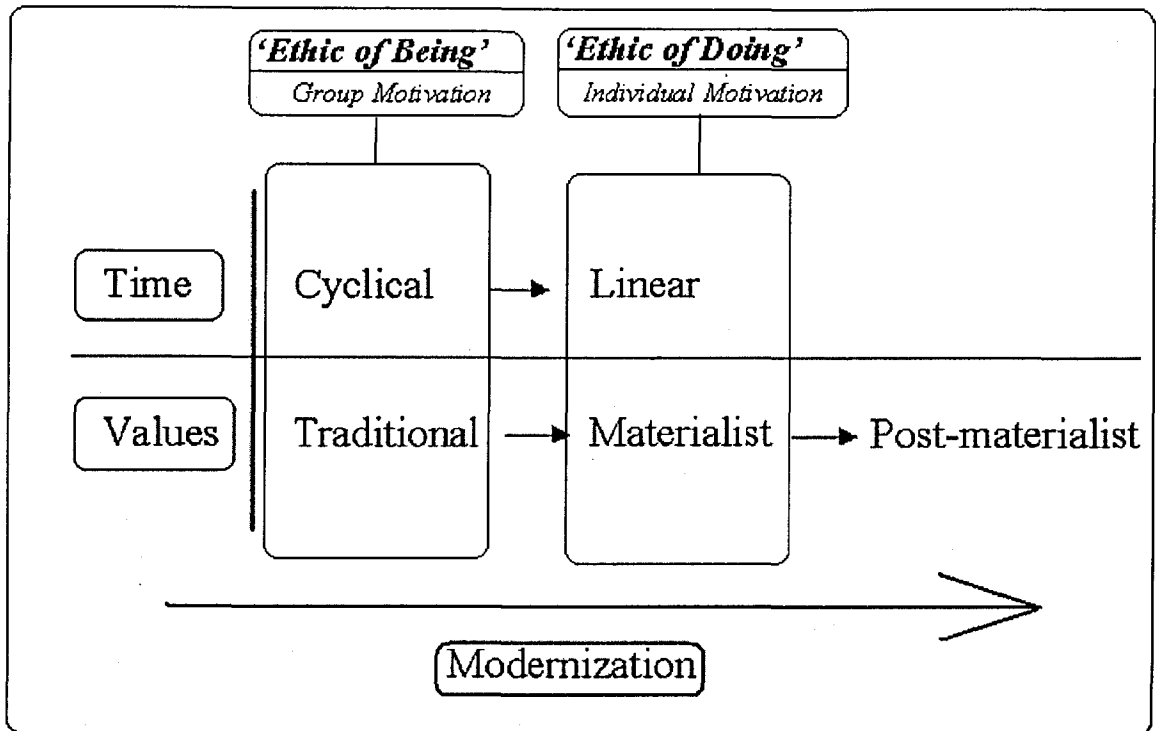
¹⁴⁰ Dennett, Daniel Clement. *Freedom Evolves*. New York: Viking, 2003. p. 194.

benselfishness—individuals want to increase their quality of life. To do this, they must reduce the prevalence of individual rationality and promote the well-being of the entire community.

The ‘Ethic of Being’ and the ‘Ethic of Doing’

This chapter has had several main foci: to argue that both conceptions of times and societal values sets result from a society’s conception of agency or its overall function; to argue that changes in agency and function often necessitate a change in societal conceptions of time and societal values, and to further argue that modernization is the primary process through which these changes are brought about; to illustrate the parallel between Traditional and Cyclical societies and between Materialist and Linear Societies; and to argue for and explore the differences between ‘group motivation’ and ‘individual motivation.’

As expounded above, Traditional/Cyclical societies have a primarily group motivation, while Materialist/Linear societies have a predominantly individual motivation. Given what we know about Traditional/Cyclical and Materialist/Linear societies, we can add the impact of ‘group motivation’ and ‘individual motivation’ to create two new societal concepts that further explain the differences between these two types of societies and provide important insights into the effective functioning of leadership in many different types of communities across the globe. As a result, I propose that many societies can be characterized, to a large extent, as abiding by the ‘ethic of being’ or the ‘ethic of doing.’ Please see the following chart, with the explanation below:



In short, these two types of 'ethics' are conglomerations of their three component parts. The 'ethic of being' combines the traditional values, a cyclical conception of time, and group motivation into a single concept, while the 'ethic of doing' aggregates components from Materialist values, a linear conception of time, and individual motivation. It is important to treat these two concepts similarly to the way that we have treated each of the other constructs: they are deliberately broad so as to achieve wide applicability, and the concepts are not mutually exclusive. Societies that begin abiding by the 'ethic of being' will tend to move incrementally towards adhering to the 'ethic of doing' as modernization brings about societal changes. The next chapter will further explore these two constructs, and show their utility in understanding the leadership issues and implications involved with each of these societies.

Chapter 6 – ‘Being’ v. ‘Doing’: The Connection to Leadership

In “*Leading Minds*,” an enlightening foray into the study of leadership and cognition, psychologist Howard Gardner explores the significance of values and ideas on the practice of leadership.¹⁴¹

Gardner argues that stories are one of the primary channels of exerting influence and cultural knowledge. By the term ‘*stories*,’ Gardner is referring to the information—both historical and newly-created—that humans pass along to each other that subsequently remains within our conscious minds and has some impact on our lives. He proposes a variety of ways to categorize stories. Those that are pertinent to this study are: stories based upon the nature of their content, stories based upon how they are transferred, and stories based upon their impact on peoples and cultures.

First, Gardner’s asserts that stories that deal with an individual’s identity, their personal values and purpose, are the most powerful types of stories. They impact decision-making, and are often the most difficult to change. Second, stories can be either *direct*, when the leader communicates with an audience, or *indirect*, when it is the ideas or values that exert influence on others.¹⁴² The third categorization of stories is aimed at measuring how stories take hold within a society, and how they interact with and build upon other stories. According to Gardner, “the audience is not simply a blank slate.”¹⁴³ Instead, they are constantly accumulating new and competing stories that influence their lives, perspectives, and receptivity to new ideas and other stories.

¹⁴¹ Gardner, Howard. “*Leading Minds*.” New York: Basic Books. 1995.

¹⁴² Ibid. p. 6.

¹⁴³ Ibid. p. 14.

In many ways, Gardner's classifications present a well-constructed framework through which to understand the importance of the characteristics analyzed in this study: cultural values, conceptions of time, the 'ethic of being,' and the 'ethic of doing.' This framework also helps to analyze the influence that each of these characteristics have on the practice of leadership. Cultural values, conceptions of time, and primary societal motivations are all identity stories. They shape how a society functions and they become societal norms. As such, they are the "most basic" and most powerful type of story.¹⁴⁴ Effective leadership often entails understanding these identity stories and an ability to use them to understand followers, to create expectations, and to promote motivation and commitment to a group's goal.

According to the second classification, these societal characteristics are a type of story that exert indirect leadership on a society. The values of a society (either Traditional, Materialist, or Post-materialist), its conception of time (either Linear or Cyclical), and its primary motivation (either individual motivation or group motivation) not only create that society's identity, as explicated above, but are also ideas and understandings that are passed along among society members. As such, these stories exert a great deal of sustained influence on a society because these identity characteristics are passed along to new society members through a variety of mediums—and hence become the norms and values of a society's new members.

Understanding these identity stories becomes an important tool for leaders. They represent the foundational values of the society in which a leader and a group must function, and also give important insights into the mindset and values of each of the group members. Using this understanding, a leader can begin to weave together the

¹⁴⁴ Gardner, Howard. "Leading Minds." P. 14.

group's goals and the perspective and values of the followers to enhance motivation, engagement, and performance. Secondly, identity stories at the societal level give leaders a more clear understanding of how their group can effectively serve and function within the larger society.

Finally, as stated above, "the audience is not a blank slate."¹⁴⁵ People often have a clear understanding of identity stories, both their own and that of their society. According to Gardner, it is the leader who can utilize these identity stories or "who succeeds in conveying a new version of a given group's story who is likely to be effective.

Effectiveness here involves fit—the story needs to make sense to audience members at this particular historical moment, in terms of where they have been and where they would like to go."¹⁴⁶ In other words, an essential component of effective leadership involves having an understanding of the identity characteristics of a society and of how to use and revise them in order to meet their group's goals. The leader must also understand how these identity characteristics are changing in a modernizing society in order to remain effective. This study's work on analyzing these types of societal characteristics and then exploring how they are changed by the process of modernization is therefore essential to effective leadership in many evolving communities.

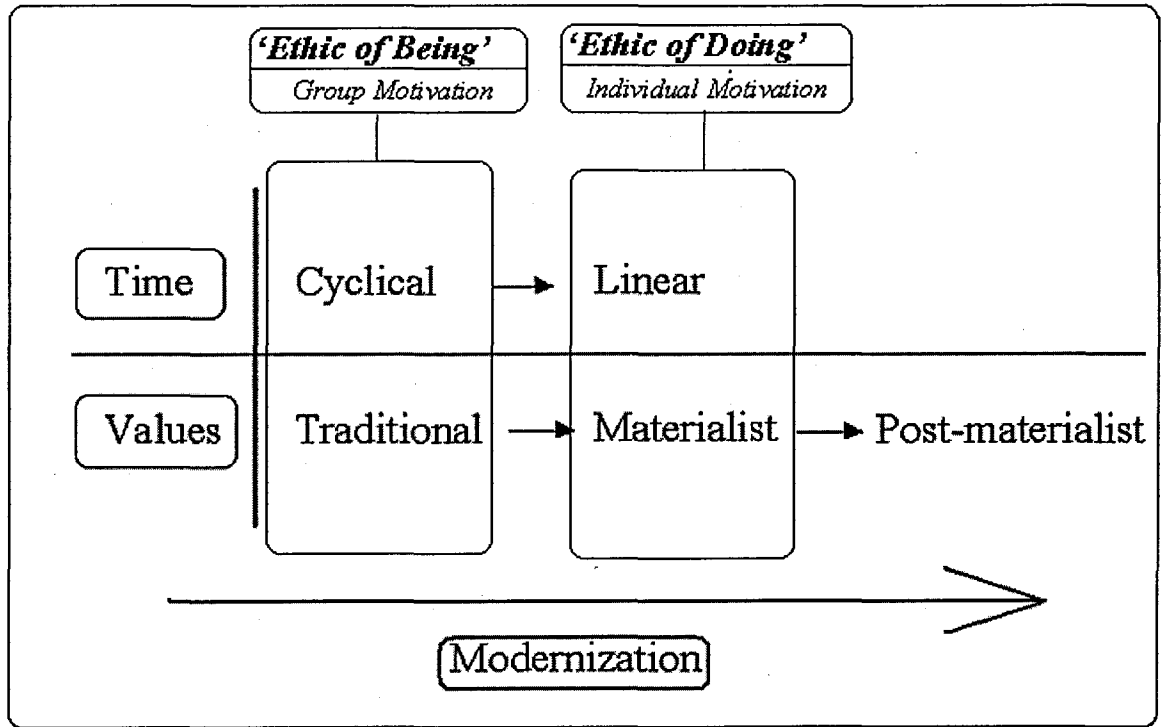
The Two 'Ethics' Explored

I have proposed the 'ethic of being' and the 'ethic of doing' as a way of simplifying the many identity characteristics explored throughout this study into two concepts—two aggregate identity stories—that harbor leadership implications associated with each identity characteristic. These two ethics are also aimed at helping leaders

¹⁴⁵ Gardner, Howard. "Leading Minds." P. 14.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 14.

understand how their role must change as a society changes. Below is the same diagram that appeared at the end of the previous chapter:



As explicated before, the 'ethic of being' is a conglomeration of the characteristics underlying traditional values, cyclical time, and group motivation. The 'ethic of doing,' on the other hand combines the characteristics underlying materialist values, linear time, and individual motivation. The former was entitled an 'ethic of being' because those societies emphasize longstanding societal norms, culture, and an adherence to tradition. As a result, these societies stress the importance of a person's values, and their expression of the culture's norms and traditions. The latter was named the 'ethic of doing' because the society focuses primarily on progress, achievement, and exploration. These societies place a great amount of importance on accomplishment, acquisition, and attainment. The following chart will clarify the values that comprise each of these ethics,

and show how the two overarching identity stories—the ‘ethic of being’ and the ‘ethic of doing’ were derived.

“Ethic of Being”	“Ethic of Doing”
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Cyclical</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family lineage, customs & tradition • Living in the present, for the past <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Traditional Values</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community and Cooperation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Skeptical of progress <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Group Motivation</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strength based upon shared origin and common values • Unity and Cultural Identity are key <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Societal Generalizations</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Typically agrarian <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-modern • Simplistic and Subsistence 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Linear</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Future Planning, goal orientation • Responsibility, Calendar effect <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Materialist Values</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual-rational thought • Emphasis on security and education <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Individual Motivation</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High degree of competition amongst individuals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Predominantly self-interested behavior <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Societal Generalizations</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diverse Society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modern • Bureaucratized and Urbanized

The above classifications are meant to be a tool for leaders to better understand the leadership implications of different societal characteristics, and to recognize how these implications will evolve as a society modernizes. Leadership and its various components work very differently in these two types of societies. For purposes of clarity, we will begin referring to societies that emphasize the ethic of being as ‘being societies’ and those that emphasize the ethic of doing as ‘doing societies.’

You will notice that this part of the study does not address Post-modernism and Post-materialist values. This is because the primary scope of this project and the case study in the following chapter is to explore the impacts of modernization on newly developing societies.

Analyzing Leadership

The vastly different characteristics, understandings, and values in “being” and “doing” societies have profound implications for the practice of leadership within these two different types of societies. Group members in ‘being societies’ bring a completely different background and perspective to the group than do group members in ‘doing societies.’ As a result of these societal differences, effective leadership requires a completely different approach in these two disparate types of societies.

The following chart will articulate the differing leadership challenges and implications in ‘being’ and ‘doing’ societies. The left-most column of the chart sets forth the eight elements of effective leadership that will be addressed. The second and fourth columns, entitled ‘Being Societies’ and ‘Doing Societies’ respectively, explicate the societal values or characteristics that are pertinent to each leadership element. The third and fifth columns, ‘Leadership in Being Societies’ and ‘Leadership in Doing Societies,’ then give the leadership implications or lessons derived from the societal characteristics for each leadership element.

	'Being Societies'	Leadership in Being Societies	'Doing Societies'	Leadership in Doing Societies
Overarching Purpose/ Primary Story	<i>Promote culture, traditions, and values.</i>	Must be intimately familiar with history and values of a society, must continually tie the future and the present into the past.	<i>Progress and develop to increase quality of life.</i>	Leaders must set forth innovative, future-oriented visions and goals.
Motivation	<i>Motivation towards societal well-being. Puts self second to culture or community.</i>	Leadership goals must constantly stress the good of the society and be aimed at furthering the goals of the group as a whole.	<i>Motivation primarily towards personal gain.</i>	Leaders must show the group's members how they will benefit from the group's success to keep them motivated.
Leadership-Follower Relationship	<i>Societal norms stress the vital importance of each member of a society.</i>	Groups are very team-oriented and communally driven.	<i>Society members are often individualistic and personally-oriented.</i>	Hierarchical leadership styles, clear distinctions between leaders and followers, goal driven and more self-interested.
Leadership Vision	<i>Based upon past tradition</i>	Leader as 'interpreter' of past events/knowledge. Any change must be strongly rooted in past values and must be beneficial to the society.	<i>Based upon future progress.</i>	Leader creates new 'vision' for the group. Changes must be shown to be beneficial to the group's members.
Cooperation v. Competition	<i>Society is focused on the general good of all the members and the promulgation of tradition and past values</i>	Strong societal emphasis placed on cooperation	<i>The members of a society are individual-rational thinkers.</i>	Strong emphasis placed on competition
Efficiency	<i>Time consists of 'a long past, an immediate present, and virtually no</i>	Little adherence to deadlines. Emphasis placed primarily on the	<i>Time is a straight-line progression that connects the past and the future</i>	'Calendar effect,' deadlines and productivity standards.

	<i>future'</i>	person and on culture, rather than on productivity.	<i>Society members are very forward-thinking.</i>	Emphasizes group and individual achievement.
Change/Advancement	<i>Emphasis on 'immemorial prescriptive norms' and skepticism towards education, change and advancement.</i>	Leaders must root potential changes in past values and societal norms. Change and advancement are generally difficult to bring about.	<i>Emphasis on progress as a means of furthering technology and well-being.</i>	Group members have a positive disposition towards helpful change. Creating change is often an expectation of leaders.
Values	<i>Places value on long-standing societal norms</i>	Stresses values as in 'ethics, morals, and beliefs'	<i>Places value on personal well-being and safety.</i>	Stresses value as in 'worth and profit'

Leadership in 'Being Societies'

As explicated above, the **overarching purpose** of 'being societies' is to place a great amount of emphasis on the past, on culture, and on tradition. As a result, the identity story of each of these cultures is extremely important. Not only do these stories help to shape a society by promulgating and strengthening its established **values** and norms, but society members make a conscious effort not to stray far from these accepted traditions and cultural values. Therefore, leaders must often be intensely familiar with the history and past of a society and its members in order to be effective (**leadership vision**). Leadership takes on an interpretive role, as leaders must be able to apply established values and practices to the present situation and to new problems that need resolution. **Change/advancement** is not impossible, but is often difficult and cumbersome to bring about. As a result, leaders often need to present proposed changes as a new and more effective way of promulgating the strongly-held societal values. In other words, the

strength of identity stories and the importance of these stories for leaders cannot be overstated. In 'being societies,' leaders must utilize the past in order to shape the future.

Group members within 'being societies' are focused on community and on the well-being of the entire society. Therefore, **cooperation** is valued highly and each group member is viewed as being a very significant part of the group. Actions are often **motivated** for the common good of the entire society. While some societies may have chiefs or designated leaders that are often in charge of making decisions on behalf of the entire group, leaders are often seen as the "first among equals." As such, they must create a constructive **leader-follower relationship** aimed at balancing between being an active leader and interpreter and being a facilitator that treats each of the group members with respect and equality. This constructive balance usually entails leading or facilitating a group towards building consensus and working cooperatively. Once a group has reached a collective decision, group members may be given more individual roles and delegating responsibilities becomes a task of the group's leader. Even after group members are assigned individual responsibilities, the well-being of the entire group remains the primary goal.

The disposition towards equality and the fundamental worth of all persons, combined with a cyclical conception of time, leads towards a leadership style that stresses societal values and group input over **efficiency**. Process is valued over outcomes, and it is the leader's job to ensure that societal decisions are being made in accordance with societal values. Decisions must also be made cooperatively through seeking consensus and using dialogue among the various members of a group. However painstaking the

process might seem, it is the leaders job to ensure consensus from the group members no matter how time-consuming the decision process may be.

With a long past, a brief present, and ‘no future’, cyclical time makes long-term planning difficult as forward-thinking extends only to the immediately foreseeable future. Group relationships, particularly those between leader and group member, are governed in large part on past interactions and cultural norms. Absent from these relationships is cooperation in hopes of reciprocation. Without a clear conception of the future, the ideas of delayed gratification or cooperating in hopes of being repaid at a later date are not prevalent. This general mindset reinforces the previous assertion that group members are motivated expressly by values, cultural norms, and traditions, rather than long-term self-interest or future planning.

Leadership in ‘Doing Societies’

As opposed to ‘being societies,’ ‘doing societies’ emphasize achievement, progress, and development as their **overarching purpose**. As a result, effective leadership in these societies often entails a **leader’s vision** to be very future-oriented and to explicate visions and goals for the groups to achieve. Since these types of societies place relatively little significance on cultural values and past norms, these leadership goals and visions need not be explicitly rooted a society’s culture. Rather, effective leadership entails the crafting of a vision for **change/advancement** that allows the group to prosper and be most effective in the future.

Creating such a vision is often much more difficult than might be initially imagined. Self-interest, personal well-being, and efficiency are prevailing values within

‘doing societies.’ Members of a society are often highly **competitive**. Therefore, the **motivation** of group members is often based upon providing personal incentives for group members, or in somehow tying the group member’s own interests into the larger goals of the group. The leader who can best show each group member how he or she will benefit by contributing to the group will often be successful. This is often a delicate process for leaders, however, as they must balance the various competing interests of each of the group members while still moving the entire group forward towards achieving its goals.

The emphasis placed on **efficiency** in ‘doing societies’ has led to the creation and acceptance of hierarchies and specifically defined roles for group members. Leadership is less consensual and cooperative than is found in ‘being societies’ because group members often accept a **leader-follower relationship** in which hierarchies and authority are seen as necessities for effectively and efficiently working towards the group’s goals. On the other hand, the personal sense of worth of group members within ‘doing societies’ often leads them to desire having their ideas and suggestions being taken into account throughout the decision-making process. So, while hierarchies are usually acceptable within ‘doing societies,’ keeping group members involved in each facet of the decision-making process often helps leaders to keep group members motivated and engaged.

In general, the process of leadership remains a balancing act for leaders in ‘doing societies,’ but the competing **values** that tip the scales are different in ‘doing societies’ than they are for ‘being societies.’ Leaders in ‘doing societies’ must balance between putting forth an effective vision for change and gaining the input of group members along the way. Leadership very often entails an interactive give-and-take with the followers, as

followers are not solely motivated towards the general good of the group, but rather to be an active part of the decision-making process to ensure that attention is given to their ideas and their interests. Delegating and empowerment—giving group members important tasks and sufficient autonomy and power to complete them—are often key components of effective leadership because they allow group members autonomy.

Finally, the linear conceptions of time in ‘doing societies’ necessitate a ‘calendar effect’ in which deadlines are continually created and progress is constantly measured. Leadership is about effectiveness, and therefore holding people to deadlines and ensuring comprehensive visions that include action steps and necessitate follow-through from group members are often effective leadership techniques.

Conclusions

The many societal characteristics that have been explored throughout this study—societal values, conceptions of time, and primary motivations—collectively create the identity of a society. In Gardner’s terms, these identity stories exert a form of indirect leadership throughout the society. As the stories are passed along to new members of the society, these new members often come to share the same collective identity characteristics that are prevalent throughout the society. While these indirect stories influence the values and understandings of follows, action and creating change requires direct leadership. This is where the two ‘ethics’ come into play.

Group members are not ‘blank slates,’ but rather are constantly collecting new and competing stories. Effective leadership entails utilizing these indirect stories to create action and change. The ‘ethic of being’ and the ‘ethic of doing’ simplify these masses of stories by grouping them together to give a more complete and cohesive picture of the

society. As such, these two ethics can serve as a tool for effective leadership by enabling leaders to understand the various implications posed by each set of characteristics and to adjust their leadership style accordingly.

As was shown in the above chapter, these two ethics carry many different implications for leadership within a society. Generally, these differences can be summed up by looking at the primary characteristic of each of the three components that create the two ethics: ‘being societies’ are oriented towards the past, while ‘doing societies are oriented towards the future (concepts of time); ‘being societies’ emphasize communal well-being, while ‘doing societies’ emphasize individual rationality (societal values); and ‘being societies’ stress shared values and cultural identity, while ‘doing societies’ stress competition and individuality (primary motivation). Each of the different leadership implications are drawn from these primary societal differences. Leaders can enhance their effectiveness by not only understanding and applying these two ‘ethics,’ but by understanding the relationship between the two. As societies modernize, they shift incrementally from the ‘ethic of being’ to the ‘ethic of doing.’ Effective leaders must diagnose these situations and respond with an appropriate leadership style.

The case study in the following chapter will test these conclusions and provide an example of changing leadership as a response to a shift from ‘being’ to ‘doing.’

Chapter 8 – A South African Case Study

Modernization: Changing ‘Ethics,’ Changing Societies.

As explicated in the previous chapter, the process of modernization often causes a change in the overarching purpose of a society, thereby creating a shift in its conceptions of time, its societal values, its primary motivation, and ultimately the general ‘ethic’ to which the society adheres. The shifts in each of these societal characteristics are incremental. As a result, they often create confusion and challenges because the set of values displayed by the people and the type of leadership necessary to be effective within these societies evolve and change at different rates. Ronald Inglehart and his colleagues have argued that societies move incrementally from Traditional to Materialist values; Carol Greenhouse and others have argued that societies move incrementally from Cyclical to Linear conceptions of time; and I argue that societies move incrementally from the ‘ethic of being’ to the ‘ethic of doing,’ and along the way the type of leadership style that is necessary and effective undergoes a similar shift. I offer the following case study from the Desmond Tutu Peace Centre in Cape Town, South Africa to serve as a real-life example to test the above conclusions and to clarify some of the challenges brought about by the process of modernization.

Case Study:
The Desmond Tutu Peace Centre
Cape Town, South Africa
March 2, 2003 – July 26, 2003

The Setting

One decade after South Africa conducted its first post-apartheid election, I traveled to The Desmond Tutu Peace Centre in Cape Town, South Africa as an intern to study the organization and its operations. Before discussing the inner-workings of the Peace Centre, it is important to give some background on South Africa in order to place it in its proper context for this case study. South Africa is a rapidly, yet very unevenly, modernizing nation. To enter into the city from the airport means passing miles of miniscule, aluminum-sided shanty houses stacked atop each other along the highway in a predominantly black of 'coloured' section of town. Once inside the Cape Town city limits, which are occupied primarily by white South Africans, the scene changes startlingly. The highway passes a Ferrari dealership, several world-class hotels, upscale restaurants, and spectacular mansions.

It is easy to understand these drastic changes as the expected differences between the rich and the poor of South African society. It's also easy to attribute this disparity to the pervasive and lingering affects of apartheid's racial separation and favoritism. While both conclusions identify important factors that have led to the vast inequality, they do not capture the complexity of the complete picture in South Africa. One must understand the uneven patchwork of development that is occurring in South Africa in order to completely understand many of these societal differences. Many parts of Cape Town city,

especially the affluent, prominently white sections, are wholly modern. They boast magnificent shopping centers, near universal internet access, and remarkably good education systems. Moving away from the epicenter of the city towards the less affluent sections of the greater Cape Town area is almost like moving back in time. Not only do the communities become increasingly impoverished and the skin color of the inhabitants become increasingly dark, but the level of development and modernization decreases exponentially. Roads and school systems become markedly worse. Shopping malls are replaced by village stores, small restaurants, and street vendors. Internet access is extremely scarce, if present at all. Finally, exiting the immediate Cape Town suburbs means to enter a completely different world. Electricity becomes a rarity; shopping consists primarily of village farmers selling their crops; and literacy rates are extremely low.

There are very clear societal differences that accompany these differing levels of modernization. The people in the least developed areas outside the immediate Cape Town suburbs display expressly Traditional values in their interactions and lifestyles. As one moves towards the more affluent sections of the city, however, societal values become increasingly akin to Materialist values. Not only do the surroundings become increasingly developed and modern, but the values and attitudes of the people also become increasingly Materialistic.

Generally speaking, the modernization process that is evident at the communal level is also occurring at the national level in South Africa. Just as the communities become increasingly modern the closer they are to the city's center, the entire nation is becoming increasingly modern with each passing year. As a result, at both the communal

and at the national level, South Africa is gradually moving from the traditional 'ethic of being' to the modern 'ethic of doing.' This layered development—both the communal and the national—demonstrates the complexity of South African society and provides a compelling case study to investigate the societal impacts of modernization.

Background on the Centre

The Desmond Tutu Peace Centre is a relatively small, non-profit organization in Cape Town, South Africa dedicated to advancing peace and promoting positive leadership. The Centre's purpose is to further the values and vision of its namesake, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and to utilize the experiences and knowledge gained from South Africa's movement against apartheid, its transition into democratic self-government, and its recent efforts to rebuild multiracial communities. This fledgling organization aims to "offer Africa's future leaders and individuals from around the world opportunities to research, debate, engage in, learn from and practice peace-promoting activity and leadership at every level."¹⁴⁷

The Centre has three divisions: The Leadership Academy, The Museum of Peace, and The Library and Archive. The Leadership Academy is the most active division, as it designs and implements various seminars and workshops focusing on developing "the leadership potential of women, youth, community leaders, people in government and educators."¹⁴⁸ The Museum of Peace is being constructed to be a "place where visitors and scholars can grapple with South Africa's past, present and future through education,

¹⁴⁷ The Desmond Tutu Peace Centre website: <<http://www.tutu.org>>

¹⁴⁸ IBID.

inter-cultural dialogue, the arts, entertainment, research and interaction.”¹⁴⁹ Finally, The Library and Archive of the Desmond Tutu Peace Centre will collect and chronicle various resources related to African history, the study of conflict resolution and peace, and to Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s life. Through these three entities, the Peace Centre hopes “not merely to memorialize one of South Africa's most famous sons, but to convert his unique leadership into the kinds of practices, approaches and tools that any individual can use to improve society through his or her own personal contribution.”¹⁵⁰

The Organization

The Peace Centre has two directors: the executive director and the director of The Leadership Academy. The executive director is responsible for the general operations of the Peace Centre, including fund-raising, construction of the museum, library, and archive, and the general oversight of the organization’s employees (which range in number roughly between 10 and 22, depending on the amount of interns and the activities of The Leadership Academy). The director of The Leadership Academy creates various leadership development programs for constituent groups, most notably to provide training on human rights protection and equality for women and young people.

The Peace Centre also employs several workers with expertise in particular areas: a financial officer, a fundraising and marketing expert, and an employee in charge of ‘research and development of new initiatives.’ There are a varying range of employees (between six and fourteen, depending on the time) that have full-time positions as part of the office staff or are part-time workers that are brought in as necessary when The

¹⁴⁹ IBID.

¹⁵⁰ The Desmond Tutu Peace Centre website: <<http://www.tutu.org>>

Leadership Academy is putting on programs. Finally, the Peace Centre runs an international internship program that brings in students and human rights practitioners from across the globe to study in Cape Town and to take part in the many activities of the Peace Centre. In the summer of 2003, the Centre housed interns from the United States, Norway, Ghana, Afghanistan, and Angola.

First Impressions

Upon arriving in Cape Town and beginning an internship with the Peace Centre in early March of 2003 the differences between the work environment in South Africa and that of any workplace that I have been in the United States were immediately apparent. My first impressions of the Peace Centre indicated that the organization was operating much more closely to the ‘ethic of being’ than the ‘ethic of doing.’ The atmosphere at was extremely lax, almost lethargic. The employees made it clear that the workplace operates under “African time”—meaning that things happen slowly, meeting times are not precise, and deadlines are often flexible. The workday ‘began’ at 9:00 in the morning, which meant most of the employees would arrive by 9:30. After socializing and getting tea, they would actually begin work by about 10:00. Even the vernacular of the office reflected the imprecision of time around the office. According to one of the employees, “to say I’ll be with you ‘now’ really means that I’ll be with you at some point today, maybe tomorrow, maybe later...it could be in 15 minutes, it could be tomorrow after lunch. If, however, someone says that they will be with you ‘now now,’ that means that they will be with you right away.” Throughout my interactions with other organizations in the area through responsibilities from the Peace Centre, I found that this relaxed

“African time”—in which it is much more important that something does happen, rather than when it happens—to be prevalent throughout much of the society.

Once the employees got to work, efficiency was not often the top priority. Group meetings, at which getting the ‘ideas and feelings’ of each of the group members was stressed continually, dominated the schedule. While the atmosphere was pleasant and supportive, the emphasis on “dialoguing,” “opening a dialogue,” and “unpacking” all of the issues from everyone’s own perspective consumed an incredible amount of the workday. Whether in formal meetings or occurring informally throughout the day, collaboration, cooperation, and interest in the thoughts of fellow co-workers were prevailing norms at the workplace. There was a very genuine interest in the employees understanding each other and their different backgrounds. Each foreign intern was asked to give a presentation on his/her native cultures and their families to the entire office towards the beginning of their tenures at the Peace Centre to promote global awareness and a better understanding of each of the coworkers. Furthermore, there was a prevailing awareness that our differing backgrounds, religious beliefs, and personal values may come into conflict at different points throughout our work at the Centre. Here especially the ideas of “dialoguing” and “unpacking” our cultural differences were stressed in order to work through any difficulties while learning about the other person and their background in the process.

While not always working directly towards the stated goals and missions of the Peace Centre, these informal interactions, cultural presentations, and the interest in getting to know each of the other coworkers had an important impact on the functioning of the Peace Centre: decisions were almost always reached by consensus, most all of the

group members were then 'on board' and engaged with the eventual outcome, and a spirit of cooperation, support, and understanding dominated the environment.

Aside from the formal leaders of the organization and its several specialists, group roles within the Peace Centre were not well-defined. Workers would often fill in as needed on projects from The Leadership Academy, and usually would not know what their next task or assignment would be. Harkening back to the previous paragraph, the inexactitude of responsibilities, roles, and budgets for each program or for the entire functioning of the Peace Centre made frequent group meetings a necessity.

The executive director of the Peace Centre spoke at length about 'the African philosophy of work.' He often warned interns from developed nations that they would "be amazed at how slowly things move around here," with "around here" meaning both within the office and throughout the continent. "In fact," he would say, "you might be a little bit disappointed. But, no worries. If you leave here having not really 'accomplished' anything that you can put down on paper, that's not what's important. What is important is the people you meet, the things you learn, and who you become because of your time with us. By doing that, meeting people and helping out wherever you can or are interested, you will help us a great deal." This philosophy of work extended not just to the interns coming to the Centre from other cultures, but to the general staff of the Peace Centre. Staff development and personal development were continually stressed as high-priority goals within the workplace, and often took precedence over efficiency and productivity.

Modernization Necessitates Changes

Midway through the summer of 2003, the executive director returned to South Africa from a largely unsuccessful fund raising trip through the United States. In short, many of the philanthropic organizations or individual benefactors in the United States wanted to see more substantial results before giving large sums of money. Furthermore, they found many of the ideals, such as ‘teaching leadership,’ ‘developing values,’ and ‘promoting peace’ through these programs, as being too intangible. The next two workdays were spent entirely in group meetings with the executive director outlining a new vision for the future operations of the Peace Centre. He spoke immediately of adding accountability and responsibility to each of the positions within the office. He suggested that each worker have a personal budget for their travel and communication expenses, and that everyone in the office must do their part to promote fundraising for the vitality of the Peace Centre—since for the first time, financing the organization was becoming its primary concern.

The executive director also spoke of the personnel mistakes that they had possibly made in the years since the inception of the Peace Centre. He said that instead of employing motivated people who were passionate about many of the causes that the Peace Centre stood for, perhaps they should have been more professionally-oriented by strategically building the company’s “skill set” through the hiring workers with specialized backgrounds. Rather than employing people for their dedication to the values espoused by Desmond Tutu or for their active participation in the movement against apartheid, he suggested that they needed to concern themselves more with what skills and talents each individual brings to the successful functioning of the organization. In the end, he warned that they may have to “shake up” the current employment roster in order

for the Peace Centre to “stay afloat.” While this news was taken surprisingly well by the staff members at the Peace Centre, it was clear that there were many underlying tensions that would come to the surface as many of these plans are enacted.

Many changes began to take place in the several weeks following these group meetings. Workplace norms began to tighten up—deadlines and personal budgets were created, individuals became more responsible for being productive, and there was a greater emphasis placed upon the marketability of the projects. The mission statement became more than a guiding ideal, as projects that did not fit with the main thrust of the Peace Centre were curtailed. Finally, group meetings became more efficient. Input and ideas from all group members were still actively welcomed, but the directors began to move from a consensual process of decision-making to a more driven, hierarchical style that reinforced the Peace Centre’s mission and viability.

Cultural Analysis

Prior to the largely unsuccessful fundraising trip, the Desmond Tutu Peace Centre operated under the ‘ethic of being.’ Time and deadlines were not stressed; employees were hired because they believed strongly in the values and ideals espoused by Archbishop Tutu and the mission statement of the Centre, which was steeped in South African culture; and the general feel of the workplace was remarkably relaxed and communal.

The fundraising trip, however, brought a new reality to the life of the Peace Centre. Perhaps it is not coincidental that it was interaction with the United States and with financial and achievement considerations that brought about a fundamental shift in

the operations of the Peace Centre. These changes were brought about by “new forms of diversity,” specifically the interactions between the Traditional South African culture espoused at the Peace Centre and the Materialist/Post-materialist standards of productivity demanded by many American benefactors. The primary motivation of the Peace Centre was focused on values, interpersonal growth within a cooperative group, and providing direction and training to South African communities wherever it was necessary prior to the fundraising trip. This general aim quickly shifted, however. After the two days of meetings, the Peace Centre became much more concentrated upon its long-term viability, upon the values, skills, and output of its group members, and on fundraising and marketing. In other words, the process of competing for organizational survival in a more developed region of the world profoundly changed the Desmond Tutu Peace Centre. The eventual result was a profound change in values, understandings of time, and ultimately the general ‘ethic’ that governs the workplace.

The following chart will investigate these changes more specifically. It is a variation of the previous chart that shows the various implications that the ‘ethic of being’ and the ‘ethic of doing’ have on the implementation of different aspects of leadership. This chart analyzes the Peace Centre as an organization prior to the fundraising trip alongside the breakdown for ‘Being Societies’ and after the fundraising trip next to the breakdown for ‘Doing Societies’ to allow for comparison and to illustrate the shift that took place within the Centre’s inner-workings.

	<i>Leadership in Being Societies</i>	<i>Peace Centre Prior to Trip</i>	<i>Leadership in Doing Societies</i>	<i>Peace Centre After Trip</i>
Overarching Purpose/ Primary Story	<i>Must be intimately familiar with history and values of a society, must continually tie the future and the present into the past.</i>	Promote personal development and growth for workers, improve the society by creating 'distinctly Africa' leadership training seminars.	<i>Leaders must set forth innovative, future-oriented visions and goals.</i>	Remaining a viable organization so that it can further its collective mission
Motivation	<i>Leadership goals must constantly stress the good of the society and be aimed at furthering the goals of the group as a whole.</i>	Provide valuable leadership training (The Leadership Academy) and historical and cultural resources (The Museum) to the community.	<i>Leaders must show the group's members how they will benefit from the group's success to keep them motivated.</i>	Same motivation but different manifestation: now increasing visibility and fund-raising capacity as well.
Leadership-Follower Relationship	<i>Groups are very team-oriented and communally driven.</i>	Very communal and consensus-driven. Strong orientation towards "dialoguing" and "unpacking" issues	<i>Hierarchical leadership styles, clear distinctions between leaders and followers, goal driven and more self-interested.</i>	Instituted a more hierarchical structure, introduced methods of accountability, leaders became more active in setting the course, rather than simply facilitating action.
Leadership Vision	<i>Leader as 'interpreter' of past events/knowledge. Any change must be strongly rooted in past values and must be beneficial to the society.</i>	To take South Africa's history and the lessons learned from overcoming apartheid and apply them to global problems and teach aspiring leaders these values and lessons. Fairly goal-oriented, however. Also placed a large degree of emphasis on vision for the	<i>Leader creates new 'vision' for the group. Changes must be shown to be beneficial to the group's members.</i>	To continue with their past goals, but to introduce new elements to increase viability. There was a new urgency to produce and create products that are helpful and marketable.

		future.		
Cooperation v. Competition	<i>Strong societal emphasis placed on cooperation</i>	Heavy emphasis on cooperation and consensus.	<i>Strong emphasis placed on competition</i>	In the office, cooperation among group members was still emphasized, but more direction was given by the leaders. Outside the office, there was a new sense that the Centre was competing for funding with other organizations.
Efficiency	<i>Little adherence to deadlines. Emphasis placed primarily on the person and on culture, rather than on productivity.</i>	Not many set deadlines, meetings often started late, little sense of personal accountability—esp ecially with budgets.	<i>'Calendar effect,' deadlines and productivity standards. Emphasizes group and individual achievement.</i>	Personal budgets, roles, and responsibility were given out to all. Stricter deadlines were enacted.
Change/ Advancement	<i>Leaders must root potential changes in past values and societal norms. Change and advancement are generally difficult to bring about.</i>	Strong commitment to help rebuild South Africa and to train South African citizens, but to do so by using the lessons and values of the past.	<i>Group members have a positive disposition towards helpful change. Creating change is often an expectation of leaders.</i>	Remained rooted in South Africa's history and Tutu's values. New sense of urgency for the need to achieve in order to remain viable.
Values	<i>Stresses values as in 'ethics, morals, and beliefs'</i>	Dedicated to 'the worth and dignity of every human,' 'the interdependence of all life,' 'the power of hope,' and 'living responsibly in the midst of freedom' ¹⁵¹ ,	<i>Stresses value as in 'worth and profit'</i>	Same general values. Within the organization, however, there was a shift towards looking for employees based upon their skills, rather than simply their passion for the cause.

¹⁵¹ The Desmond Tutu Peace Centre website: <<http://www.tutu.org>>

As is indicated in the above chart and the introduction to the case study, The Desmond Tutu Peace Centre is clearly in a period of change in which its operations are gradually shifting from an 'ethic of being' towards adhering to the 'ethic of doing.' Throughout my time at the Peace Centre, this was especially apparent. Before I left the Peace Centre was beginning an amalgamation between the two ethics: moving towards accountability and responsibility, but remaining at least somewhat tied to the older norms of complete communalism; instituting deadlines and strategically planning for the future, yet still operating under 'African time;' becoming more externally-oriented through the implementation of new marketing strategies and stressing the fundraising importance of each of their projects, while remaining deeply committed to furthering the values of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the lessons learned through overcoming apartheid.

Leadership Analysis

In the 'Pre-trip Peace Centre,' there was evidence supporting each of the leadership conclusions promulgated in the last chapter, with some receiving more support than others. The **overarching purpose** of the Peace Centre was expressly to "promote the culture, traditions, and values" of its namesake and its country, in this case manifesting these values into leadership training programs for segments of the South African society and archiving significant aspects of the freedom movement in its museum. The Peace Centre is **motivated** towards utilizing the past to increase 'societal well-being,' through these same programs. Through an emphasis on continual dialoguing and a dedication to the often painstaking process of consensus-building, the Peace Centre displayed **leader-follower relations** that were exceedingly 'team-oriented and communally driven' and

therefore displayed the ‘heavy emphasis on cooperation’ that was predicted in the **cooperation v. competition** category.

In regards to **efficiency**, the ‘Pre-trip Peace Centre’ was at best somewhat inefficient and at worst wasteful of valuable time and resources. The aversion to individual accountability and the emphasis placed on interpersonal growth and learning rather than production reflected the predicted outcomes almost exactly. The Peace Centre’s general mission also clearly reflected the predicted **change/advancement** outcome, which asserted that future change must be rooted in past values, as the Peace Centre’s entire purpose was to further South African society by utilizing the lessons from South Africa’s transition from apartheid rule to democratic self-government. Finally, the Peace Centre was dedicated to promoting ethical and moral leadership, matching the predictions for the **values** category.

Each of the aforementioned observations, along with most of the others, match exactly with the conclusions for ‘being societies.’ The one conclusion that was not supported completely was the **leadership vision** assertion that the leader will act as an ‘interpreter of past events/knowledge’ and that ‘any change must be strongly rooted in past values.’ Both of these were true to an extent within the Peace Centre, as the executive director had served as Desmond Tutu’s personal Chaplain for several decades prior to the establishment of the Peace Centre. As such, he was the most intimately familiar with the values of the Archbishop and the various issues and lessons of the post-apartheid movement. The executive director, however, was significantly more future-oriented and goal-oriented than was predicted by the analytical framework of this study.

This may have been due to his vast experience in working with the United States and Europe throughout his tenure as Tutu's Chaplain.

As explicated above, many changes took place in the operations of the Peace Centre following the unsuccessful fundraising trip. The analysis of the 'Post-trip Peace Centre' shows movement towards the leadership conclusions that were reached for the 'ethic of doing,' but also supports the assertion that this shift would be incremental. For example, the **overarching purpose** of the Peace Centre became more 'progress-oriented' and 'future oriented.' The 'calendar effect' and an increased adherence to deadlines were apparent attempts at increasing **efficiency**, and the organization did come to understand **value** at least partly as 'worth and profit.' Each of these observations corresponded closely with the conclusion of the model for the 'ethic of doing.'

The most salient conclusion from the model that did not occur, which consequently impacted many of the conclusions on the leadership chart, was that the organization retained its very strong ties to cultural values and the historical lessons of South Africa. As a result, the Peace Centre became more focused on its long-term viability, but remained steadfastly committed to its mission of promulgating South African values. In particular, the Peace Centre held strong to its valuing every single employee in its organization. Holding to this cultural norm mediated the **leader-follower relations** between the increase in organizational hierarchy and competition brought about by the 'ethic of doing' and the emphasis on consensus and cooperation as espoused by the 'ethic of being.' In the end, the general **leadership vision** within the organization was a constructive blend between these competing values: there was an increase in direction and authority in the workplace from the formal leaders, but the opinions of all workers

were still very actively solicited at group meetings; the Peace Centre remained **motivated** to implement leadership training programs aimed at the entire society's interests, but began to focus more acutely on its own viability concerns; and there was an increased sense of **competition** with the outside world and with other non-profit organizations, but the atmosphere within the Peace Centre remained cooperative and generally consensus driven. Finally, the new viability concerns caused the Peace Centre and its employees to be more open to future **change/advancement** that is in the long-term interest of the organization.

As I suggested earlier, the changes that took place throughout the Peace Centre as a result of the fundraising trip very clearly altered the operations of the Peace Centre from adhering to the 'ethic of being' to becoming more inclined towards the 'ethic of doing.' The transformation from one ethic to the other was gradual and incremental, and made it necessary for the directors to alter their leadership style to respond to the 'new forms of diversity' that the Peace Centre now faces. The underlying cause of these changes—an attempt to integrate an organization in a developing society with the more modern world—is not insignificant. It clearly shows the many challenges that organizations and societies face as they begin to modernize or as they integrate themselves with the more developed world. In a world where the impacts of globalization and modernization are widespread and continually increasing, many new organizations and societies will soon be facing the same challenges that The Desmond Tutu Peace Centre has recently been working to overcome. As such, perhaps both this case study and the models and conclusions of this study can help serve as a guide to promote the understanding and effective leadership that is necessary for their success.

Chapter 8 – The Wrap Up:

Significance of this Project and Areas for Future Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the various societal impacts of modernization and to explore the leadership implications and challenges that are created by the process of modernization. Briefly, the first two chapters explored the impact of modernization on cultural values, concluding that societies tend to progress from Traditional to Materialist to Post-materialist value sets as they develop, that these values are coherent at the national, regional, and sometimes continental level, and that the society's disposition towards achievement is correlated highly with its actual level of development. The second two chapters investigated cultural conceptions of time, specifically the differences between linear and cyclical temporal conceptions, the origins of these understandings, and the 'new forms of diversity' that cause societies to progress from cyclical to linear conceptions.

Chapter five then analyzed the parallels between these two broad concepts, cultural values and conceptions of time, and created a new categorization—'being' and 'doing' societies—to simplify and to explain the connections between these concepts. In short, 'being societies' are those that have cyclical conceptions of time and display Traditional values, while 'doing societies' have a linear conception of time and display Materialist values. The fundamental motivations for these societies were explored, and then the leadership implications and challenges for these two ethics were analyzed and explained in chapter six.

Finally, the theoretical work and empirical findings from the first six chapters of the study were tested in chapter seven, the case study of The Desmond Tutu Peace Centre. This case study was an effort not only to clarify and test the previous assertions

and conclusions of this paper, but also to bring some clarity to the incremental nature of the transformation from the 'ethic of being' to the 'ethic of doing' that is necessitated by the process of modernization and the incremental changes in leadership that correspond to this transformation.

All of these conclusions have been made in greater detail throughout the course of the previous seven chapters and will not be restated here. Instead, I would like to briefly discuss the significance of this work and to make some suggestions for further areas of inquiries regarding this general topic.

There is an enormous amount of cultural diversity among societies across the globe. That is a fact that this study in no way seeks to dispute. There is evidence, however, to suggest that while these cultural differences have a variety of impacts on societies, it is the 'macro values' of a society—individualism v. communalism, disposition towards achievement, past- or future-orientation, etc.—that are most influential in determining many of the defining characteristics of that society, which then profoundly impact the practice of effective leadership. The main significance of this study is the exploration of the relationship of these 'macro values'—which consist of the society's values set(s), the society's cultural conception(s) of time, and the society's primary motivation(s). The 'ethic of being' and the 'ethic of doing' were created solely to simplify these relationships into a more manageable categorization that allows for a lucid analysis of the leadership implications and challenges for each of these sets of societal characteristics.

So what's the point? The overarching argument of this study has been that the process of modernization necessitates a transformation in both cultural values and

cultural conceptions of time, which then necessitates a transformation in the type of leadership necessary to operate effectively within a society. This is an increasingly important phenomenon across the world as globalization is slowly reaching every corner of the Earth. As a result, many societies across the globe are struggling to adapt to the variety of changes that result from this process—not only the physical and developmental challenges or the values and temporal understanding changes that are associated with modernization, but the very real leadership crises that are occurring in these societies as they begin to compete and to be influenced by a wider and oftentimes more developed world.

The significance of this study lies in the identification of several key components of this set of ‘macro values,’ the exploration if these selected ‘macro values,’ the argument for linkages between concepts of time and societal values structures, and the leadership analysis that followed for each of these types of societies. This study was focused mainly on pre-modern and modern societies, those that display Traditional and Materialist values respectively, and the incremental process of modernization that transforms pre-modern societies into modern societies. In the end, not only has this study investigated and explained the changes that occur within each of these types of societies, but it has also created a model illustrating the different leadership approaches that must be taken within each of these societies. In a world of job outsourcing, multinational corporations, and international trade, understanding how these different societies function and how groups of people—from a group of international business executives to a classroom of students with their teacher—can work together is vitally important to

successful group interactions and to effective leadership. This study creates a framework that elucidates and addresses these increasingly frequent situations.

The many societal changes that occur once a society has become 'fully developed' and begins to return towards a more Traditional values structure (Post-materialist values) is becoming an increasingly important topic in a complex and rapidly modernizing world. As a result, Post-materialist values and the post-modern society were explored briefly in the first two chapters and the Post-materialist values structure was included in several of the models and charts for this study. Widening the scope of analysis to include both an ethic for post-modern societies and the leadership implications and challenges that ensue from the transformation from a modern society to post-modern society is the most obvious areas for potential study to update this project.

A second area of potential study deals with the societal transition from traditional to modern to post-modern. The various theories, empirical data, and the South African case study strongly support the contention that these transitions occur incrementally, meaning that societies shift slowly from traditional to modern to post-modern, and hence shift slowly from the 'ethic of being' to the 'ethic of doing.' Further exploration of how these changes take place and detailing the leadership implications and steps along the way would further elucidate this transition process.

A third area for further study would be to test and refine the assertions and conclusions of this project through additional case studies in developing regions of the world—particularly doing case studies in different types of organizations of varying sizes or in different segments of the community. Additionally, as stated in the context section of the case study, the further one travels from the epicenter of the city, the less developed

the communities become¹⁵². Doing a cross-ethics/values/time conceptions study consisting of a range of participants from more and less developed communities may yield significant and intriguing results.

In the end, hopefully this study will serve as a foundation for further research and exploration into the leadership challenges posed by societal changes necessitated by modernization. This study has perhaps constructed the framework for such a structure by creating a model that explicates the relationship between cultural values, cultural conceptions of time, and primary motivations, and groups these societal characteristics into two functional ethics. Filling the gaps between these ethics by further exploring the incremental transition between these ethics, adding a categorization for post-modern societies, and exploring how this model applies to a wider variety of case studies can create a very detailed and applicable model to help address the many societal and leadership challenges that modernizing societies are facing across the world.

¹⁵² James Ferguson, in his work on development in the African Copperbelt (Ferguson, James. "Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt." Berkeley: University of California Press. 1999.) begins to address these problems as he explores the complex interrelationship between urban and rural workers within one of the more developed regions of Africa. Perhaps his work will provide a starting point to further this area of study.

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